





# RACE SUICIDE AND THE DRUG TRADE

Since "our" chief executive has spoken his mind upon the question of race suicide, denouncing in unmeasured terms all that that phrase implies; since the press and our "representative" citizens have taken up the cry and added confusion to the already chaotic state of affairs, it behooves the Socialist who is in a position to shed some light upon the subject to do so to the best of his ability.

Some innocent folk, unused to the degraded and degenerate ways of modern society, having noticed the heading of this article may wonder what connection there may possibly exist between the drug trade and race suicide. To such individuals patience and the careful perusal of the following lines are recommended.

Race suicide, of the variety to which "our" chief executive alluded, may be divided in two classes, viz., moral and mechanical. Moral race suicide is the result of the determination on the part of married couples to prevent the conception of children. Mechanical race suicide, which borders closely upon murder, takes place after conception, but in time to prevent natural birth.

Such unnatural and criminal actions must necessarily result in a lowering of morals, loss of dignity, and loss of respect of one sex for the other. The existence of this state of affairs being undeniable, we shall consider first, the causes leading thereto; second, the means employed to attain that end.

Race suicide means decrease of family. Decrease of family means smaller expenses. The fewer in the family the smaller the expense. The larger the family, the bigger the expense and more intense the struggle attending the rearing of children. The income of the average family being far below the amount necessary to keep the members thereof in comfort, all sorts of expedients are resorted to. That, of course, does not affect the wealthy classes, but we will pay our respects to them later on.

The writer believes that the chief actors in the drama of race suicide are the middle classes residing in the large cities: the conglomeration of cockroach businessmen, lawyers, doctors, bookkeepers, salesmen, agents, etc., etc., struggling frantically to keep their heads above water and at the same time trying to preserve an appearance of comfort and plenty—these gentry have taken up race suicide with enthusiasm and practice it with regularity.

The middle class intellectuals and cockroach businessmen would fain follow in the path of the rich. They like to "ride" in handsome steam heated flats, they like to dress well, to belong to a club or two and, in many other ways, to ape the rich and well-to-do. Their wives like to dress elegantly, go to affairs, theatres, etc., and though they can't afford the delightful luxuries of dog dinners and vegetable parties, they indulge in pink tea, four o'clock tea, coffee clutches and other similar intellectual diversions calculated to elevate the individual as well as to aid in the moral uplifting of the human race.

This is the class that furnishes the chief actors in the drama of race suicide. Look at it: the lord of the house is somewhat of a sport and somewhat of

a gentleman of leisure. The lady of the house has generally very high aspirations, social, sartorial and others, without the means to gratify them. But lady she must play or die in the attempt. To this silly little, darling, wife imagines that all he has to do in order to make a fortune is to go out and "hustle."

Is she so much to blame? No! assuredly no! Her entire bringing up has been false and misleading. Her knowledge of economics extends as far as the bargain counter, where she pushes and fights for a chance to buy something for ninety-nine cents which has always cost a dollar. She sees many rich people around her. She is told and reads in the papers that our most successful men, and by successful it is always understood rich, began life penniless. How through thrift, industry, perseverance, indomitable will, etc., etc., they accumulated a fortune. Reasoning thusly she arrives at the only logical conclusion of such reasoning—that her husband must be lacking in all these qualities.

The husband, often reasoning on the same lines, believes himself a hopeless failure, and hies himself forcibly to the bourse whence no traveler returns. Before he arrives at that hopeless stage he buckles on the armour and charges. He hustles and bustles, schemes and plots, often swindles and gambles, but all to no purpose. No matter where he turns a knock and a kick is awaiting him.

Evolution, that inflexible ruler, has declared that the time of the middle class is up, and holding that class within its iron grasp is pushing it steadily into the camp of the proletariat where poverty, overwork, and misery of all sorts, of all colors, and of all degrees reign supreme. A large family is in every way an impediment to couples of this class. To bring children up properly, to give them a liberal education, to house and clothe them decently, costs a good deal of money. Moreover, viewing the question from the standpoint of "gentlefolks," children are a nuisance in more ways than one.

The chief ambition of Mrs. Fake is to outdo Mrs. Bluff. If she cannot attain that end her life is a mistake, her career a failure, and she has lived in vain. Besides, children are so unreasonable! They cry at night and no one but their mamma will do. They necessitate the keeping of a servant, when one can be ill afforded. They have to be washed and scrubbed, dressed and undressed; they have to be rocked to sleep, hushed during the night and entertained during the day.

Why not avoid all this trouble? They must not follow in the footsteps of the ignorant workingman, who as a rule, has a large family. The workingman does not know any better, but they, the smart business and professional people, they do know better.

The inventive genius of this and other countries, realizing that there is a good market for race suicide promoters, has applied its questionable aptitudes toward devising a number of diabolical instruments and medicinal concoctions with a

view of satisfying that demand, and, incidentally, to make money, no matter how much moral dirt and filth may cling to such profits.

Does not "our" chief executive, as a man who has been intimately connected with business, politics and letters, does he not know that the country is flooded with race suicide promoting goods?

Every newspaper, every magazine has its quota of advertisements either flagrantly offering these goods, or, so thinly veiled that even a most innocent Sunday-school teacher could penetrate their meaning. Among these goods offered we find "Wonderful Syringes," "Marvelous Sprays," "Infallible Regulators," "Madame Francis Pills," and many others, too numerous to mention.

"Respectable" business people advertise these goods, "respectable" newspapers print these advertisements, "respectable" business men retail these goods, "respectable" people buy these goods. So there you are, Mr. President. By condemning the practice of race suicide you condemn and brand as immoral and criminal a class of citizens which, in your estimation, is patriotic, American, law-abiding, etc.

No evil can be stamped out by attacking the effect. But this is the manner in which government under this capitalist system treats all crime. Capitalism knows well that it is itself responsible for all the crimes under the sun, and it knows that unless it destroys itself first, it cannot get at the bottom of all social evil.

Moreover, capitalism, in order to justify its existence and continuation, must shift the responsibility for the existence of crime upon other shoulders. Proceeding along this line, it tries to fasten the blame upon the victims of society.

But we Socialists know better. We know, and prove it, that the source of most crimes is profit. Nothing escapes this terrible, unrelenting John Doe. Whiskey is sold to unfortunates; cigarettes are sold to children; poisons are sold to drug fiends and to knock-out drops' manipulators. Young girls are procured for degenerate old libertines, and so on, down along the black path of capitalism. Is it any wonder then that race suicide promoters are sold to who-soever has money enough to pay for them?

It is here that the connection between the drug trade and race suicide is established. It is the druggist who is the chief retailer of these goods and it is he who can be seen almost any day whispering with an anxious customer about these goods. Far from imagining himself a lawbreaker and an immoral person, the druggist generally shakes hands with himself after disposing of goods of such a nature.

Profits in these transactions are large. Articles costing ten or fifteen cents wholesale retail for two or three dollars. Some sell for as much as five and ten dollars. A box of pills costing wholesale seventeen cents generally sells for two dollars.

Judging from the light of these immense profits, does the druggist believe in race suicide? I guess yes. So does the manufacturer who produces these goods. So does the wholesaler who handles these goods. So does the newspaper which prints advertisements recommending these goods. All these people are pillars of our society. Some are church

members, while others are among our "foremost" business men. These gentlemen publicly denounce race suicide, with one side of their mouth, while with the other they "push" the sale of articles that make race suicide possible.

The druggist is not the only man engaged in that nefarious business. The abominable doctor who disgraces the profession and the criminally inclined among the midwives, who take all sorts of chances—these complete the list of men and women engaged in the business of race suicide.

Right here let it be said that these obscene birds conduct what may be fitly called "human slaughterhouses." Do they conduct their business in some wild desert or upon some inaccessible mountain summit? Are they hunted and persecuted by the officers of law until their lives become a burden? No, gentle reader, no. They do business right in the midst of us. More than that. They do it openly and flagrantly.

Pick up any of our "respectable" newspapers, particularly on Sunday. Look up the columns under the heading "Medical." There, in a nutshell, you will find proof of the dirt and filth in which capitalist society wallows.

In the same edition to which "eminent statesmen," clergymen, scientists and leading businessmen contribute their views upon the purity of the home, the chastity of our youth, the sanctity of our church, and the nobility of our institutions, in the same edition, on another page you will find advertisements which without any further comment will prove the hypocrisy of our "eminent" citizens as well as the absolute moral debasement of the capitalistic newspapers.

On Sunday, October 4, 1903, one of our "great" metropolitan newspapers contained (by actual count), under the heading "Medical," thirty-four advertisements of human slaughter-house keepers. If any one thinks this appellation too strong, let them judge for themselves. Here is one of the ads:

"Dr. R.'s world famous Monthly Regulator is the only remedy that NEVER fails to remove the most obstinate irregularities, etc. (from any cause), in a few hours; price \$2, at office or by mail, sealed in plain wrappers. His improved, painless method of treatment of female complaints and irregularities are the result of years of patient study and practical experience—they are a science exact and certain—we give absolute relief when others fail, and positively guarantee an immediate cure without OPERATION, pain or the dangerous use of instruments, or money refunded; ladies will save both time and money by first calling at our office when we will be able to convince you that we can give you the benefit of the highest skill at the lowest possible terms. Consult registered physicians who have acquired expert skill in their specialty, whose experience has taught them to apply promptly the proper treatment thus avoiding the delay and experimenting of the inexperienced. Superior accommodation in private home for those desiring our personal attention and expert nursing with every convenience for safety and absolute privacy consultation free. Dr. and Mrs. B.—here follows address.

Thirty-three other advertisements of a similar nature followed. How about this, Mr. President? While police commis-

sioner in New York City did you never come across these advertisements in our "great" newspapers? Did none of your many subordinates call your attention to them? Gamblers have been hounded. Disorderly houses have been closed. All sorts of graft has been persecuted under your direction, while these filthy rascals offering, for the sum of \$10 to crush out a life as yet unborn—have not been molested. How about it? They have been doing business at the old stand for these many years. Are they not criminals of the worst kind? All the world knows they are.

Ye medical societies that deal out diplomas to these vultures, do you not know that they are flourishing in every city in the country? You do. And knowing it are not you partly responsible for their existence by allowing them to remain members of a profession which they so fearfully disgrace?

And last but not least, ye great statesmen, scientists, clergymen and businessmen contributors that are willing to appear in the same edition with human slaughter-house advertisers, how about you?

Workingmen! Think of a physician who advertises himself as a specialist in one of the filthiest crimes of society. Consider that the would-be intellectuals, who have set themselves up as your teachers and rulers are no more nor less than a mass of moral degenerates whom you should not allow to approach your family without having a strong disinfectant around. Think of a newspaper, which, for money, will prostitute itself, in one day, in one edition, in ten different ways. Think of the anarchy, filth, hypocrisy and crime of it all, which is upheld by the defenders of the capitalistic system and compare it with the pure, healthy, clean teachings of Socialism. On one side stands barbarism, on the other civilization. On one side blind greed, on the other unswerving principle. Which side will you follow, workingmen?

While making your decision bear in mind that the Socialist Labor Party has for the last twelve years fought for and upheld a principle so pure, so just, and advocated it in a manner so unflinching and incorruptible as to earn the respect of all clean minded, decent citizens and to incur the hatred and enmity of all the obscene, rascally and criminal element.

The Socialist Labor Party alone, of all parties, teaches that the workingmen is the producer of all wealth, that as such he is the backbone of every country. It teaches, moreover, that the present system of society based upon production for profit, in which the workingman is regarded as so much merchandise to be bought and sold in the labor market, must be abolished and in its stead a system introduced wherein the products of labor will belong to the producers of it. A system in which profit, with its fearful train of degradation, misery, blood and murder, must be abolished.

This accomplished, the workers of the world will reap their long withheld reward. The stain of slavery having been removed from their existence, the yoke of the capitalists having been lifted off their aching backs, they will quickly realize that it is their mission to bring about true civilization upon this planet; that peace and plenty and liberty is possible for all; that, in short, revolutionary, class-conscious Socialism is and will be the salvation of mankind.



**MARCUS BROS.**  
New York Custom Tailors,  
With a Perfect Mail-Order System, 121-123 Canal Street

To be smart, stylish and shape-retaining, clothes MUST be made to order, and to be well-fitting, must be made to the measurement of the man who is to wear them. Even the best ready-made clothes never fit properly, and quickly lose their shape and become "baggy." A man never appears or acts best in such clothes, and is unjust to himself when he wears them. We want to hear from men who want to break away from the ready-made habit and who object to the high prices demanded by most merchant tailors for made-to-order clothes. We have a splendid organization of expert cutters and tailors, and now do the biggest custom tailoring business in New York, simply because we give value, style and perfect fit.

FOR THE FALL AND WINTER OF 1903  
We Have All the Styles in  
**Suits and Overcoats \$15 AND UP.**  
MADE TO ORDER, at

We send improved self-measurement blanks and full line of cloth samples, showing all that is newest and best in English Tweeds, Scotch Cheviots, Serges, Cassimeres, Unfinished Worsteds, Thibets, Vicunas, Oxfords and other staple and tested fabrics.  
We made to order every kind of clothes a man wears.  
We take all the risk. No fit, no pay, is the Marcus Bros. way every day. Return anything not satisfactory and we will refund the money.

**MARCUS BROS.,** 121-123 Canal St., NEW YORK.

It is now in order to ask if this triumph of Socialism really means Socialism with its principle of suppression of capitalism, abolition of personal property, elimination of gain, interest, rent, and the creation of the Co-operative Community. The answer is yes and no. The triumph of the Socialists of Germany, their power in the nation, are protests in march, that gather forces from all points as great rivers are formed. To this Socialistic drain these elements flow by natural laws; the miseries of the discontented, the oppressions, injustice, all the anomalies dragged along by the moral law of gravitation which engenders great revolutions from these conditions they combine with a common end, heterogeneous and even antagonistic elements. The supreme moment passed, who shall say what course they will pursue, whether ruin or order will result?

The recent triumph of the Socialist party in Germany is the protest of the multitude against militarism, imperialism, excessive taxes, oppression and arrogance of the military castes, from the imperial William down; each one feeling its effects according to his environment. In this state of affairs, with despotic laws, the triumphs of the elections are inadequate to change or modify the conditions in German politics.  
The last resort of kings, the sword, will be blunted in time. When those who protest in Germany instead of being a third of the voters, are one-half or two-thirds of the electors, could the imperial system depend on the loyalty of the army? In the composition of that body the proportion of Socialists would be about the same as found in that of the people at large.

That which is passing in Germany is the aurora of a revolution for liberty. There, as in other parts of the world, absolutism is condemned.  
It can scarcely be comprehended how absolutism has been able to support itself for so long in the most cultivated country of Europe, whose sons are the foremost in the investigation of science and philosophy. It is difficult to comprehend that a system of government has been maintained and is still being maintained, a system of government that in this twentieth century affords as many possibilities of abuse, oppression and tyranny as the darkest epochs that history records.

The duel is on. Who will be vanquished? Will it be the proud dynasty with its belief in the Divine right to rule, and the absolute adequacy of force? Or will it be the millions of men who demand their rights and who feel their force growing like an avalanche as they advance? Will the sword be abolished? Against one file of swords there can be another file, in a country where all are soldiers there are always to be found in every group of men those who know the use of arms. Well did Professor Sheri say that, that act in which the people were not reckoned with, would bring its bitter fruits. And remember that revenge is not a vain intent or trial but a fact that is executed.

## FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR.

Further presents for the Bazaar and Fair to be held at Grand Central Palace on Thanksgiving Day, have been received as follows:  
F. Pandorf, Hoboken, N. J., self-heating smoothing iron.  
F. C. Haller, Los Angeles, Cal., two fine leather music rolls.  
H. Schreck, Hoboken, N. J., three fine meerschaum cigar holders.  
Mrs. Clark, New Brighton, Staten Island, six towels, three pencil boxes, six pair of fine socks, six linen handkerchiefs, and two ladies' aprons.  
L. Abelson, Organizer,  
2-6 New Reade street, Manhattan.

## SPECIAL FUND.

As per circular letter of September 3, 1901. O. Ruckser, Cranford, N. J., \$1; H. Kober, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$1; H. Hartman, Newark, N. J., \$2; F. Zierer, Newark, N. J., \$2; F. C. Burkholz, Newark, N. J., \$2; Gus Johnson, Newark, N. J., \$1; P. Goetz, Newark, N. J., \$1; F. Belzner, Newark, N. J., \$2; subpoena fee case of P. Fiebigler against the S. L. P. per H. K., \$1; subpoena fee case of C. Hosman against the S. L. P. per H. K., 50 cents; H. Neil, Providence, R. I., 4 cents; A. B., city, \$2; 23d A. D., city, \$3.95; H. Jager, Boudin wader, city, \$10; Carl Held, city, \$1. Previously acknowledged, \$7,834.17; total, \$7,865.02.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street.

FOR OVER SIXTY YEARS  
An Old and Well-Tried Remedy.  
**MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP**  
has been used for over SIXTY YEARS by MILLIONS of mothers for their CHILDREN WHILE THEY LIVE, WITH PERFECT SUCCESS. IT SOOTHES THE CHILD, SOFTENS THE GUMS, ALLAYS ALL PAIN, CURES WIND COLIC, and is the best remedy for DIARRHEA. Sold by Druggists in every part of the world. Be sure and ask for  
**MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP.**  
AND TAKE NO OTHER KIND.  
Twenty-Five Cents a Bottle.

# THE GERMAN ELECTION

[Translated for The People by Hiram Ogle, from a Spanish magazine, published in Madrid.]

The Germany of to-day, whose destinies are ruled over by the aggressive and daring emperor, William II., is a very distinct thing from that numerous groups of divided political entities among whom existed a fierce spirit of hostility and rivalry that was so graphically described by Madame de Staël in the later part of the eighteenth century. That conglomeration of little kingdoms, dukedoms, principalities, etc., also invoked the satire of the poet Heine, which is seen in so many of his works and especially in his poem entitled "Germany." Thackeray, in his "Vanity Fair," sought to ridicule them, as also the "Kingdom of Pumpernickel," a German production, and many others might be mentioned both foreign and native, who sought to shine at the expense of that collective of little divided and sub-divided states.

A very different entity is that powerful German confederation that exists to-day, which is making itself felt as a principal factor in all the affairs of modern international life. The development and progress it has attained in the last forty years are really marvelous. In 1871 the constitution of the new empire was proclaimed under exceptional circumstances which gave special prominence to this historical fact.

The German nation had been challenged to a duel of life and death by the heir of the glories of Napoleon (France), and not only had they succeeded in driving the enemy from their own territories, but after affecting the ruin of the political system of the aggressors, their victorious hosts arrived at and took possession of the French capital, January 28, 1871, and there in the palace at Versailles, whose walls were hung with the trophies of the victories of French arms over their Teutonic enemies of the past centuries, the King of Prussia was

crowned Emperor of a united Germany, so as to make the humiliation of the conquered people more bitter. In the culmination of that act was formed the German dynasty of to-day.

In speaking of the new constitution the eminent historian Scherr said "The new constitution was defective and at least insufficient. The people of Germany had paid very dearly for the right to be taken into account and they ought to have had a just participation in the formation of the new empire. The 18th of January, 1871, marked an unpardonable neglect of their rights, a political error in not reckoning with them, an error that sooner or later would call for compensation and revenge. In that imperial diadem which the King of Prussia received from the German princes that did not shine that drop of democratic balsam which had, with prophetic aspiration, been demanded by the poet Uhland since the year 1848."

The events which are passing, the evolution that is inexorably developing in the empire demonstrate that if Uhland proved himself a prophet in asking for the drop of democratic balsam as one of the indispensable parts that composed the imperial diadem, the historian Scherr was no less a prophet when he wrote that the absence of that democratic essence would demand recompense and revenge.

The elections held in June of this year have resulted in a triumph of great magnitude for the Socialist party; which has been steadily gaining ground since the last years of the reign of William I. during which period the party was in embryo and felt the mighty opposition of the Iron Chancellor. That extraordinary man, the declared apostle of force, would be astounded if he could return to the world and see the portentous development of the social and political ideas which he ardently wished to suppress in Germany.

The German Parliament is divided into eight or nine distinct groups representing the different shades of opinion of the regular political parties. The Socialists, with their eighty votes, are the second group in point of numbers, and very much exceed all the smaller groups; and although they should succeed in effecting a cooperation with the other liberal elements, the reactionists, which this would produce, would forget their differences of opinion before the common enemy and would have a majority founded upon fear and odium, in which event the Socialists would find themselves confronted by a superior opposition, their balance of power gone, and more or less morally unfitted for the struggle.

One-third of the voters of the German empire, according to the last election, are Socialists. In the Kingdom of Saxony the result was a very one-sided affair, the Socialists receiving 100,000 votes more than the sum of the votes of all of their opponents. The gains made by Socialism from the time the next to the last election took place, until the time the results of the last were made known was 200,000 votes annually. And it is not believed that the gains will cease or diminish, on the contrary, greater gains are expected.

To better understand a conjecture of a change that might occur it is to be borne in mind that the government of Germany is not a parliamentary government, but a limited monarchy; and for this reason the fluctuations in majorities and minorities do not produce the effect which such changes would bring about in England or Belgium for example.

All the elements of the executive power are centered in the Emperor. He nominates and removes his ministers who are not responsible, at will. He is the absolute head of the army, an instrument which he can use as his whims may dictate. Under certain limitations he can dissolve parliament, a measure very

improbable. He also has the power, if not the right, to suppress the constitution without fear of revolution, because the army, as long as it remains faithful, can be relied upon to obey his will. And a wise provision it is that organizes the multitude into a military organization susceptible to the law of cohesion, which only yield to the persistent efforts of years and the irresistible impetus of great causes.

There is not a shade of doubt as to the intentions and political projects of the Emperor. Garrulous and headstrong, at times even to indiscretion, a few days before the election, in addressing the army, he said "It is necessary that the army be always in readiness in order that at all times it may be an effective instrument in carrying out my political plans; in case the pen fails, the cutting file of the sword will be available."

What is it that is to be realized from the cutting file of the sword when persuasive measures fail? Those are the ideals of the Emperor; ideals that he is constantly proclaiming sustained by his firm belief in his divine right to rule, before which a contradiction is a crime against majesty, outside of Parliament, which is the only refuge of free thought, precarious and limited though it may be. The ridiculous preponderance of militarism and military caste, even to a degree incomprehensible in a nation so cultivated, is the cause of indiscriminate killing, for the slightest cause either real or imaginary; the creation of a powerful navy that places the power in the hands of the Emperor to enter into the political questions of the entire world; his colonization schemes in the Old World and his attempts to break the Monroe Doctrine in the New World for the acquiring of territory for the purpose of colonization on the American Continent; the increasing of duties, already almost insupportable, to meet these colossal

## THE OPINION OF A SPANISH ROYALIST, S. PEREZ TRIANA, ON WHAT IS GOING ON IN GERMANY.

obligations, and above all those oppressive internal laws, as the increase of duties on food stuffs from abroad.  
As a compensation to those who suffer these burdens, he must make himself more powerful and more generally feared in the entire world. The Emperor has continued the political policy of the iron chancellor of his august grandfather, pursuing the Socialists with relentless intolerance by every means in his power.

The will of the people expressed in the elections was a complete refusal to endorse the pretensions and aspirations of the Emperor. Referring to the attacks of the Emperor on the Socialists in one of the many imperial speeches, Herr Bebel, the leader of their organization in Parliament, said that each one of those virulent speeches gained 100,000 votes for Socialism. Events have demonstrated that he was not in error. As an example in point:

In the city of Essen, where the Krupp gun factory is situated, the people live almost exclusively by the wages which are paid at this factory, whose last owner recently died. The Emperor, in pronouncing the eulogy at the funeral, took the occasion to attack the Socialists in the most violent manner. More than this, for many years in Essen they have taken every precaution to prevent the workmen from being impregnated with the Socialist doctrine.

The results of the late elections reveal a state of affairs that is far from pleasing to the Emperor, who had deigned to confer the favor on them to admonish them not to receive the nefarious doctrines. The facts and figures thunder. The vote at the election before this direct intervention of the Emperor took place, was 4,400 for Socialism and in the recent election the figures were 22,700; Evidently his majesty will have to adopt other measures; but, thank God, there is the aforesaid file of soldiers!



# WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty.

Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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## PART II.

### WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

Every reader may accept what he please of this address of Prof. Barthelot; certain, however, is the prospect that in the future and in virtue of the progress of science, wealth—the volume and variety of products—will increase enormously, and that the pleasures of life of the coming generations will take undreamed of increment.

An aspiration, deeply implanted in the nature of man, is that of freedom in the choice and change of occupation. As uninterrupted repetition renders the daintiest of dishes repulsive, so with a daily treadmill-like recurring occupation: it dulls and relaxes the senses. Man then does only mechanically what he must do; he does it without swing or enjoyment. There are latent in all men faculties and desires that need but to be awakened and developed to produce the most beautiful results. Only then does man become fully and truly man. Towards the satisfaction of this need of change, Socialist society offers, as will be shown, the fullest opportunity. The mighty increase of productive powers, coupled with an ever progressing simplification of the process of labor, not only enables a considerable lowering of hours of work, it also facilitates the acquisition of skill in many directions.

The old apprentice system has survived its usefulness: it exists to-day only and is possible only in backward, old-fashioned forms of production, as represented by the small handicrafts. Seeing, however, that this vanishes from the new social order, all the institutions and forms peculiar thereto vanish along with it. New ones step in. Every factory shows us to-day how few are its workmen, still engaged at a work that they have been apprenticed in. The employees are of the most varied, heterogeneous trades; a short time suffices to train them in any sub-department of work, at which, in accord with the ruling system of exploitation, they are then kept at work longer hours, without change or regard to their inclinations, and, lashed to the machine, become themselves a machine. Such a state of things has no place in a changed organization of society. There is ample time for the acquisition of dexterity of hand and the exercise of artistic skill. Spacious training schools, equipped with all necessary comforts and technical perfections will facilitate to young and old the acquisition of any trade. Chemical and physical laboratories, up to all the demands of these sciences, and furnished with ample staffs of instructors will be in existence. Only then will be appreciated to its full magnitude what a world of ambitions and faculties the capitalist system of production suppresses, or forces away into mistaken paths.

It is not merely possible to have a regard for the need of change; it is the purpose of society to realize its satisfaction: the harmonious growth of man depends upon that. The professional physiognomies that modern society brings to the surface—whether the profession be in certain occupations of some sort or other, or in gluttony and idleness, or in compulsory tramping—will gradually vanish. There are to-day precious few people with any opportunity of change in their occupations, or who exercise the same. Occasionally, individuals are found who, favored by circumstances, withdraw from the routine of their daily pursuits and, after having paid their tribute to physical, recreate themselves with intellectual work; and conversely, brain workers are met off and on, who seek and find change in physical labors of some sort or other, handwork, gardening, etc. Every hygienist will confirm the invigorating effect of a pursuit that rests upon alternating physical and mental work; only such a pursuit is natural. The only qualification is that it be moderately indulged, and in proportion to the strength of the individual.

Leo Tolstoy lashes the hypertrophic and unnatural character that art and science have assumed under the unnatural conditions of modern society. He severely condemns the contempt for physical labor, entertained in modern society, and he recommends a return to natural conditions. Every being, who means to live according to the laws of nature and enjoy life, should divide the day between, first, physical field labor; secondly, hand work; thirdly, mental work; fourthly, cultured and companionable intercourse. More than eight hours' physical work should not be done. Tolstoy, who practices this system of life, and who, as he says, has felt himself human only since he put it into practice, perceives only what is possible to him, a rich, independent man, but wholly impossible to the large mass of mankind, under existing conditions. The person who must do hard physical work every day ten, twelve and more hours, to gain a meager existence, and who was brought up in ignorance, can not furnish himself with the Tolstoyan system of life. Neither can they, who are on the firing line of business life and are compelled to submit to its exactions. The small minority who could imitate Tolstoy have, as a rule, no need to do so. It is one of the illusions that Tolstoy yields to, the belief that social systems can be changed by preaching and example. The experiences made by Tolstoy with his system of life prove how rational the same is; in order, however, to introduce such a system of life as a social custom, a social foundation is requisite other than the present. It requires a new society.

Future society will have such a foundation; it will have scientists and artists of all sorts in abundance; but all of them will work physically a part of the day, and devote the rest, according to their liking, to study, the arts or companionable intercourse.

The existing contrast between mental and manual labor—a contrast that the ruling classes seek to render as pronounced as possible with the view of securing for themselves also the intellectual means of sovereignty—will likewise be removed.

It follows from the preceding arguments that crises and compulsory idleness are impossible phenomena in the new social order. Crises arise from the circumstance that individualist, capitalist production—incited by profit and devoid of all reliable gauge with which to ascertain the actual demand—brings an overstocking of the world's market, and thus overproduction. The merchandise feature of the products under capitalism, of the products that their owners endeavor to exchange, makes the use of the product dependent upon the consumer's capacity to buy. The capacity to buy is, however, limited, in so far as the overwhelming majority are concerned, they being under-paid for their labor, or even wholly unable to sell the same if the capitalist does not happen to be able to squeeze a surplus value out of it. The capacity to buy and the capacity to consume are two wholly distinct things in capitalist society. Many millions of people are in want of clothes, shoes, furniture,

"The generality of laborers in this and most other countries, have as little choice of occupation or freedom of locomotion, are practically as dependent on fixed rules, and on the will of others, as they could be on any system of actual slavery."—John Stuart Mill's "Principles of Political Economy."

"A French workman, on his return from San Francisco, writes as follows: 'I never could have believed that I was capable of working at the various occupations I was employed on in California. I was firmly convinced that I was fit for nothing but letter-press printing. Once in the midst of this world of adventures, who change their occupation as often as they do their shirt, I did as the others. As mining did not turn out remunerative enough, I left it for the town, where in succession I became a cooper, a painter, a plumber, etc. In consequence of this finding out that I am fit for any sort of work, I feel less of a mollusk and more of a man.' (A. Courbet, 'De l'Enseignement Professionnel', 2ème ed. p. 50.) Cited by Karl Marx in 'Capital', p. 493, edition Swan-Sonnenchein Co., London, 1890.

"Tolstoy's 'The Significance of Science and Art.'"  
"What may be made of a man under favorable circumstances is illustrated by Leonardo da Vinci, who was a distinguished painter, celebrated sculptor, architect, architect and engineer, excellent builder of fortifications, musician and improvisator. Benvenuto Cellini was a celebrated goldsmith, excellent soldier, good sculptor, leading builder of fortifications, first-rate soldier and brave musician. Abraham Lincoln was a splitter of rails, agriculturist, lawyer, abolitionist and lawyer, until he was placed in the Presidential chair of the United States. It may be said without exaggerating, most people are engaged in occupations that do not correspond with their faculties, simply because, not freedom of choice, but the force of necessity dictated their career. Every man, however, who does good work and is a shoemaker, and many a good shoemaker could be a good professor as well."

linen, eatables and drinkables, but they have no money, and their wants, i. e., their capacity to consume, remains unsatisfied. The market is glutted with goods, but the masses suffer hunger; they are willing to work, but they find none to buy their labor-power because the holder of money sees nothing to "make" in the purchase. "Die, canaille; become vagabonds, criminals! I, the capitalist, can not help it. I have no use for goods that I have no purchaser to buy from me with corresponding profit." And, in a way, the man is right.

In the new social order this contradiction is wiped out. Socialist society produces not "merchandise," in order to "buy" and to "sell," it produces necessities of life, that are used, consumed, and otherwise have no object. In Socialist society, accordingly, the capacity to consume is not bounded, as in bourgeois society, by the individual's capacity to buy; it is bounded by the collective capacity to produce. If labor and instruments of labor are in existence, all wants can be satisfied; the social capacity to consume is bounded only by the satisfaction of the consumers.

There being no "merchandise" in Socialist society, neither can there be any "money." Money is the visible contrast of merchandise; yet itself is merchandise! Money, though itself merchandise, is at the same time the social equivalent for all other articles of merchandise. But Socialist society produces no articles of merchandise, only articles of use and necessity, whose production requires a certain measure of social labor. The time, on an average requisite for the production of an article is the only standard by which it is measured for social use. Ten minutes social labor in one article are equal to ten minutes social labor in another—neither more nor less. Society is not "on the make"; it only seeks to effect among its members the exchange of articles of equal quality, equal utility. It need not even set up a standard of use value. It merely produces what it needs. If society finds that a three-hour work day is requisite for the production of all that is needed, it establishes such a term of work. If the methods of production improve in such wise that the supply can be raised in two hours, the two-hour work day is established. If, on the contrary, society demands the gratification of higher wants than, despite the increase of forces and the improved productivity of the process of labor, can be satisfied with two or three hours work, then the four-hour day is introduced. Its will is law.

How much social labor will be requisite for the production of any article is easily computed. The relation of the part to the whole of the working time is measured accordingly. Any voucher—a printed piece of paper, gold or tin—certifies to the time spent in work, and enables its possessor to exchange it for articles of various kinds. If he finds that his wants are smaller than what he receives for his labor, he then works proportionally shorter hours. If he wishes to give away what he does not consume, nothing hinders him. If he is disposed to work for another out of his own free will, so that the latter may revel in the *dolce far niente*,—if he chooses to be such a blockhead, nothing hinders him. But none can compel him to work for another; none can withhold from him a part of what is due him for labor performed. Everyone can satisfy all his legitimate desires—only not at the expense of others. He receives the equivalent of what he has rendered to society—neither more nor less, and he remains free from all exploitation by third parties.

"But what becomes of the difference between the lazy and the industrious? between the intelligent and the stupid?" That is one of the principal questions from our opponents, and the answer gives them no slight headache. That this distinction between the "lazy" and the "industrious," the "intelligent" and the "stupid" is not made in our civil service hierarchy, but that the term of service decides in the matter of salary and generally of promotion also—these are facts that occur to none of these would-be puzzlers and wiseacres. The teachers, the professors—and as a rule the latter are the silliest questioners—move into their posts, not according to their own qualities, but according to the salaries that these posts bring. That promotions in the army and in the hierarchies of the civil service and the learned professions are often made, not according to worth, but according to birth, friendship and female influence, is a matter of public notoriety. That, however, wealth also is not measured by diligence and intelligence may be judged by the Berlin inn-keepers, bakers and butchers, to whom grammar often is a mystery, and who figure in the first of the three classes of the Prussian electorate, while the intellectuals of Berlin, the men of science, the highest magistrates of the Empire and the State, vote with the second class. There is not now any difference between the "lazy" and the "diligent," the "intelligent" and the "stupid" for the simple reason that what is understood by these terms exists no longer. A "lazy" fellow society only calls him who has been thrown out of work, is compelled to lead a vagabond's life and finally does become a vagabond, or who, grown up under improper training, sinks into vice. But to style "lazy fellow" the man who rolls in money and kills the day with idleness or debauchery, would be an insult: he is a "worthy and good man."

How do matters stand in Socialist society? All develop under equal conditions, and each is active in that to which inclination and skill point him, whence differences in work will be but insignificant. The intellectual and moral atmosphere of society, which stimulates all to excel one another, likewise aids in equalizing such differences. If any person finds that he cannot do as much as others on a certain field, he chooses another that corresponds with his strength and faculties. Whoever has worked with a large number of people in one establishment knows that men who prove themselves unfit and useless in a certain line, do excellent work in another. There is no normally constructed being who fails to meet the highest demands in one line or another, the moment he finds himself in the right place. By what right does any claim precedence over another? If any one has been treated so step-motherly by Nature that with the best will he can not do what others can, Society has no right to punish him for the shortcomings of Nature. If, on the contrary, a person has received from Nature gifts that raise him above others, Society is not obliged to reward what is not his personal desert. In Socialist society all enjoy equal conditions of life and opportunities for education; all are furnished the same opportunities to develop their knowledge and powers according to their respective capacities and inclinations. In this lies a further guarantee that not only will the standard of culture and powers be higher in Socialist than in bourgeois society, but also that both will be more equally distributed and yet be much more manifold.

When, on a journey up the Rhine, Goethe studied the Cathedral of Cologne, he discovered in the archives that the old master-builders paid their workmen equal wages for equal time. They did so because they wished to get good and conscientious work. This looks like an anomaly

"It should always be kept in mind that production is then organized up to the highest point of technical perfection, and all the people are at work. It may thus happen that, under given circumstances, a three-hour day is rather longer, after the hour of dawn, than a four-hour day. Owen in his time—first quarter of the nineteenth century—considered two-hour work sufficient."

"It is not necessary to go a round-about way in order to ascertain the amount of social labor crystallized in a given product. Daily experience shows directly the requisite average. Society can easily calculate how many hours are consumed in producing a certain article. In a hectoliter of last year's wheat, in a hundred square meters of cloth, in a certain quantity of iron, there is, therefore, never dream of re-expressing these units of work—crystallized in the products and known to it directly and absolutely—by a merely relative, varying, and insufficient measure, formerly used by it as a makeshift that it could not get along without: a measure, moreover, which itself is a third product, instead of by their natural, adequate and absolute measure—time."

Society will have to organize the plan of production according to the means of production, under which category labor-power especially belongs. The various utilities of the several articles of use, balanced with one another and with the amount of labor necessary for their production, will in the end determine the plan. People settle matters a good deal more simply without the intervention of the celebrated "marginal value."—Fr. Engels' "Herr Eugen Dühring's 'Unwissenschaftliche' Wissenschaft."

Herr Eugen Richter is so astonished at the dropping away of money in Socialist society—abolished money will not be: with the abolition of the merchandise character from the products of labor, money drops away of itself—that he devotes to the subject a special chapter in his "Irrlehren." What is particularly hard for him to understand is the idea that it is immaterial whether the voucher for labor performance be a piece of paper, gold or tin. On this head he says: "With gold, the devil of the modern social order would re-enter the Social Democratic State—that there could then be only a Socialist society, and not a Socialist State. Herr Richter stubbornly overlooks: he must, else a good portion of his polemic would fall through—seeing that gold has an independent metal value, can be easily saved, and thus the possession of gold pieces would enable the heaping up of capital that he is unable to escape. The alternative, all the same, is a great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."—John Stuart Mill, "Principles of Political Economy." Mill strove diligently to reform "the bourgeois world, and to 'bring it to reason.' Of course, in vain. And so it came about that he, like all clear-sighted men, became a Socialist. He dared not, however, admit the fact in his life time, but ordered that, after his death, his auto-biography be published, containing his Socialist confession of faith. It happened to him as with Darwin, who cared not to be known in his life as an atheist. The bourgeois affects loyalty, religion and faith in authority because through the acceptance of these 'virtues' by the masses its own rule is safeguarded; in its own sleeves, however, it laughs at such a school."

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to modern bourgeois society. It introduced the system of piece-work, that drives the workmen to out-work one another, and thus aids the employer in underpaying and in reducing wages.

As with manual, so with mental work. Man is the product of the time and circumstances that he lives in. A Goethe, born under equally favorable conditions in the fourth, instead of the eighteenth, century may have become, instead of a distinguished poet and naturalist, a great Father of the Church, who might have thrown St. Augustine into the shade. If, on the other hand, instead of being the son of a rich Frankfurt patrician, Goethe had been born the son of a poor shoemaker of the same town, he never would have become the Minister of the Grand Duke of Weimar, but would probably have remained a shoemaker, and died an honorable member of the craft. Goethe himself recognized the advantage he had in being born in a materially and socially favorable station in order to reach his stage of development. It so appears in his "Wilhelm Meister." Were Napoleon I. born ten years later, he never would have been Emperor of France. Without the war of 1870-1871, Gambetta had never become what he did become. Place the naturally gifted child of intelligent parents among savages, and he becomes a savage. Whatever a man is, society has made him. Ideas are not creations that spring from the head of the individual out of nothing, or through inspiration from above; they are products of social life, of the *Spirit of the Age*, raised in the head of the individual. An Aristotle could not possibly have the ideas of a Darwin, and a Darwin could not choose but think otherwise than an Aristotle. Man thinks according as the *Spirit of the Age*, i. e., his surroundings and the phenomena that they present to him drive him to think. Hence the experience of different people often thinking simultaneously the same thing, of the same inventions and discoveries being made simultaneously in places far apart from each other. Hence also the fact that an idea, uttered fifty years too early, leaves the world cold; fifty years later, sets it ablaze. Emperor Sigismund could risk breaking his word to Huss in 1415 and order him burned in Constance; Charles V., although a more violent fanatic, was compelled to allow Luther to depart in peace from the Reichstag at Worms in 1521. Ideas are, accordingly, the product of combined social causes and social life. What is true of society in general, is true in particular of the several classes that, at given historic epochs, constitute society. As each class has its special interests, it also has its special ideas and views, that lead to those class struggles of which recorded history is full, and that reach their climax in the class antagonisms and class struggles of modern days. Hence, it depends not merely upon the age in which a man lives, but also upon the social stratum of a certain age in which he lived or lives, and whereby his feelings, thoughts and actions are determined.

Without modern society, no modern ideas. That is obvious. With regard to the future social order, it must be furthermore added that the means whereby the individual develops are the property of society. Society can, accordingly, not be bound to render special homage to what itself made possible and is its own product.

So much on the qualification of manual and brain work. It follows that there can be no real distinction between "higher" and "lower" manual work, such as not infrequently a mechanic to-day affects towards the day-laborer, who performs work on the street, or the like. Society demands only socially necessary work; hence all work is of equal value to society. If work that is disagreeable and repulsive can not be performed mechanically or chemically and by some process converted into work that is agreeable—a prospect that may not be put in doubt, seeing the progress made on the fields of technique and chemistry—and if the necessary volunteer forces can not be raised, then the obligation lies upon each, as soon as is his turn, to do his part. False ideas of shame, absurd contempt for useful work, become obsolete conceptions. These exist only in our society of drones, where to do nothing is regarded as an enviable lot, and the worker is despised in proportion to the hardness and disagreeableness of his work, and in proportion to its social usefulness. To-day work is badly paid in proportion as it is disagreeable. The reason is that, due to the constant revolutionizing of the process of production, a permanent mass of superfluous labor lies on the street, and, in order to live, sells itself for such vile work, and at such prices that the introduction of machinery in these departments of labor does not "pay." Stone-breaking, for instance, is proverbially one of the worst paid and most disagreeable kinds of work. It were a trifling matter to have the stone-breaking done by machinery, as in the United States; but we have such a mass of cheap labor-power that the machine would not "pay." Street and sewer cleaning, the carting away of refuse, underground work of all sorts, etc., could, with the aid of machinery and technical contrivances, even at our present state of development, be all done in such manner that no longer would any trace of disagreeableness attach to the work. Carefully considered, the workman who cleans out a sewer and thereby protects people from miasmas, is a very useful member of society; whereas a professor who teaches falsified history in the interest of the ruling classes, or a theologian who seeks to beg the mind with supernatural and transcendental doctrines are highly injurious beings.

The learned fraternity of to-day, clad in offices and dignities, to a large extent represents a guild intended and paid to defend and justify the rule of the leading classes with the authority of science; to make them appear good and necessary; and to prop up existing superstitions. In point of fact this guild is largely engaged in the trade of quackery and brain-poisoning—a work injurious to civilization, intellectual wage-labor in the interest of the capitalist class and its clients. A social condition, that should make impossible the existence of such elements, would perform an act towards the liberation of humanity.

Genuine science, on the other hand, is often connected with highly disagreeable and repulsive work, such, for instance, as when a physician examines a corpse in a state of decomposition, or operates on suppurating wounds, or when a chemist makes experiments. These often are labors more repulsive than the most repulsive ones ever performed by day-laborers and untutored workmen. Few recognize the fact. The difference lies in that the one requires extensive studies in order to perform it, whereas the other can be performed by anyone without preparatory studies. Hence the radical difference in the estimation of the two. But in a society where, in virtue of the amplest opportunities of education afforded to all, the present distinction between "cultured" and "uncultured" ceases to exist, the contrast is likewise bound to vanish between learned and unlearned work, all the more seeing that technical development knows no limits and manual labor may be likewise performed by machinery or technical contrivances. We need but look at the development of our art handicrafts—xylography and copper-etching, for instance. As it turns out that the most disagreeable kinds of work often are the most useful, so also is our conception regarding agreeable and disagreeable work, like so many other modern conceptions, utterly superficial; it is a conception that has an eye to externals only.

The moment production is carried on in Socialist society upon the lines traced above, it no longer produces "merchandise," but only articles of use for the direct demand of society. Commerce, accordingly, ceases, having its sense and reason for being only in a social system that rests upon the production of goods for sale. A large army of persons of both sexes is thus set free for productive work. This large army, set free for production, not only increases the volume of wealth produced, but makes possible a reduction of the hours of work. These people are to-day more or less parasites: they are supported by the work of others: in many instances they must toil diligently in return for a meagre existence. In Socialist society they are superfluous as merchants, hosts, brokers and agents. In lieu of the dozens, hundreds and thousands of stores and commercial establishments of all sorts, that to-day every

"If, therefore, the choice were to be made between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence, that the produce of labor should be apportioned as we now see it has never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is a normal, and so in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life for its laborer. The alternative, all the same, is a great or small, of Communism would be but as dust in the balance."—John Stuart Mill, "Principles of Political Economy." Mill strove diligently to reform "the bourgeois world, and to 'bring it to reason.' Of course, in vain. And so it came about that he, like all clear-sighted men, became a Socialist. He dared not, however, admit the fact in his life time, but ordered that, after his death, his auto-biography be published, containing his Socialist confession of faith. It happened to him as with Darwin, who cared not to be known in his life as an atheist. The bourgeois affects loyalty, religion and faith in authority because through the acceptance of these 'virtues' by the masses its own rule is safeguarded; in its own sleeves, however, it laughs at such a school."

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community holds in proportion to its size, large municipal stores step in, elegant bazars, actual exhibitions, requiring a relatively small administrative personnel. This change in itself represents a revolution in all previous institutions. The tangled mass of modern commerce is transformed in a centralized and purely administrative department, with only the simplest of functions, that can not choose but grow still simpler through the progressive centralization of all social institutions. Likewise does the whole system of transportation and communication undergo a complete change.

The telegraph, railroads, Post Office, river and ocean vessels, steel railways—whatever the names of the vehicles and institutions may be that attend to the transportation and communication of capitalist society—now become social property. Many of these institutions—Post Offices, telegraph and railroads generally—are now State institutions in Germany. Their transformation into social property presents no difficulties: there no private interests are left to hurt: if the State continues to develop in that direction, all the better. But these institutions, administered by the State, are no Socialist institutions, as they are mistakenly taken for. They are business plants, that are exploited as capitalistically as if they were in private hands. Neither the officers nor the workmen have any special benefit from them. The State treats them just as any private capitalist. When, for instance, orders were issued not to engage any workman over 40 years of age in the railway or marine service of the Empire, the measure carries on its brows the class stamp of the State of the exploiters, and is bound to raise the indignation of the working class. Such and similar measures that proceed from the State as an employer of labor are even worse than if they proceed from private employers. As against the State, the latter is but a small employer, and the occupation that this one denies another might grant. The State, on the contrary, being a monopolistic employer, can, at one stroke, cast thousands of people into misery with its regulations. That is not Socialist, it is capitalist conduct; and the Socialist guards against allowing the present State ownership being regarded as Socialism, or the realization of Socialist aspirations. In a Socialist institution there are no employers. The leader, chosen for the purpose, can only carry out the orders and superintend the execution of the disciplinary and other measures prescribed by the collectivity itself.

As in the instance of the millions of private producers, dealers and middlemen of all sorts, large centralized establishments take their place, so does the whole system of transportation and communication assume new shape. The myriads of small shipments to as many consignees that consume a mass of powers and of time, now grow into large shipments to the municipal depots and the central places of production. Here also labor is simplified. The transportation of raw material to an establishment of a thousand workers is an infinitely simpler matter than to a thousand small and scattered establishments. Thus centralized localities of production and of transportation for whole communities, or divisions of the same, will introduce a great saving of time, of labor, of material, and of means both of production and distribution. The benefit accrues to the whole community, and to each individual therein. The physiognomy of our productive establishments, of our system of transportation and communication, especially also of our habitations, will be completely altered for the better. The nerve-racking noise, crowding and rushing of our large cities with their thousands of vehicles of all sorts ceases substantially: society assumes an aspect of greater repose. The opening of streets and their cleaning, the whole system of life and of intercourse acquires new character. Hygienic measures—possible to-day only at great cost and then only partially, not infrequently only in the quarters of the rich—can be introduced with ease everywhere. To-day "the common people" do not need them; they can wait till the funds are ready; and these never are.

Such a system of communication and transportation can not then choose but reach a high grade of perfection. Who knows but aerial navigation may then become a chief means of travel. The lines of transportation and communication are the arteries that carry the exchange of products—circulation of the blood—throughout the whole body social, that effect personal and mental intercourse between man and man. They are, consequently, highly calculated to establish an equal level of well-being and culture throughout society. The extension and ramification of the most perfect means of transportation and communication into the remotest corners of the land is, accordingly, a necessity and a matter of general social interest. On this field there arise before the new social system tasks that go far beyond any that modern society can put to itself. Finally, such a perfected system of transportation and communication, will promote the decentralization of the mass of humanity that is to-day heaped up in the large cities. It will distribute the same over the country, and thus—in point of sanitation as well as of mental and material progress—it will assume a significance of inestimable value.

Among the means of production in industry and transportation, land holds a leading place, being the source of all human effort and the foundation of all human existence, hence, of Society itself. Society resumes at its advanced stage of civilization, what it originally possessed. Among all races on earth that reached a certain minimum degree of culture, we find community in land, and the system continues in force with such people wherever they are still in existence. Community in land constituted the foundation of all primitive association: the latter was impossible without the former. Not until the rise and development of private property and of the forms of rulership therewith connected, and then only under a running struggle, that extends deep into our own times, was the system of common ownership in land ended, and the land usurped as private property. The robbery of the land and its transformation into private property furnished, as we have seen, the first source of that bondage that, extending from chattel slavery to the "freedom" of the wage-earner of our own century, has run through all imaginable stages, until finally the enslaved, after a development of thousands of years re-convert the land into common property.

The importance of land to human existence is such that in all social struggles the world has ever known—whether in India, China, Egypt, Greece (Cleomenes), Rome (the Gracchi), Christian Middle Ages (religious sects, Munzer, the Peasants War), in the empires of the Aztecs and of the Incas, or in the several upheavals of latter days—the possession of land is the principal aim of the combatants. And even to-day, the public ownership of land finds its justifiers in such men as Adolf Samter, Adolf Wagner, Dr. Schaeffle, who on other domains of the Social Question are ready to rest content with half-measures.

It is useless, are the 241,162 agents, the 73,277 brokers, the 92,919 commercial travelers, the 70,048 hucksters and peddlers, the 790,586 merchants and dealers (except retailers), the 42,250 merchants and dealers (wholesale), the 74,072 officials of banks and companies, the 33,356 lively stable keepers, the 71,622 messengers and errand and office boys, and the 59,344 packers and shippers—in all 1,555,081. Of the remaining 3,210,889—among whom are 234,850 householders and accountants, 632,127 clerks and copyists, 611,130 salesmen and women—fully two-thirds could be spared to-day under a rational social system. The proportion of wasteful forces, and even parasitism, is still larger under the heads of "Professional Service" and "Domestic Service." The 234,850 householders and accountants, 632,127 clerks and copyists, 611,130 salesmen and women—fully two-thirds could be spared to-day under a rational social system. 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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED  
STATES.

In 1888.....	2,000
In 1892.....	21,157
In 1896.....	36,564
In 1900.....	24,191
In 1902.....	53,617

## THE ELECTIONS, PRELIMINARY.

This year's elections are over, and figures enough from far and wide are in to form an estimate and draw a conclusion. This is all the easier seeing that in the city of Greater New York, an empire in itself, polling a larger vote than the total poll of thirty-nine States in the Union, what has happened typifies the current of events elsewhere also. The striking feature of the election returns is a political revolution. Everywhere, the tide that, in the years just preceding, had run high for the Republican, receded again and set in for the Democratic party. In this empire of the city of Greater New York the ebb and flow were most marked and typical. It is in the nature of a landslide that overwhelmed the Republican ticket and re-raised to power the Democratic nominees.

Such a revolution might seem unmeaning, it even may look like a saddening evidence of see-saw in the popular mind. While the see-saw is obvious, and while see-sawing is no evidence of constructive intelligence, nevertheless, a positively encouraging fact that the see-saw throws up does not escape the trained and tutored eye of the Socialist; nor is the encouragement it inspires cooled by the circumstance that his own, the Socialist Labor Party vote suffered more or less, and here and there in the general landslide. That encouraging fact is the double evidence, first, that the masses of the working class are restive, and that the springs of their will-power for better things have not been cracked, despite all the efforts of their exploiters to keep them mentally benighted; and second, that the masses of the working class are not to be fooled by bogus parties of Socialism, that they may nibble at these, but soon have instincts true enough to drop them again.

Conditions have been growing worse for Labor everywhere; and everywhere the capitalist class has sought to fool the working class with false pretences. Of this New York City was again the leading theater. The workers were taken in two years ago and gave the Republican Party the majority. A grotesque figure than Seth Low as the emblem of purity of government and "sweet homes" for Labor could not well be conceived. But the taken in two years ago, the workers were not this year. There was spirit enough to wish for better things, and will-power enough to strike for it. What there was absent was the knowledge of how to strike. The educational work of the Socialist Labor Party will convey that knowledge. Such educational work would be vain effort with a working-class mass whose spirit and will-power was broken. Where these exist there is hope. Coupled with the knowledge that Socialist Labor Party education imparted, the tidal wave and political revolution recorded by this election forebodes and foretells the imminent tidal wave and political revolution that is bound to sweep both old parties into oblivion.

This fact, thrown up by the election figures of this year, is accentuated and underscored by the vote of the bogus Socialist party, that in this city and State sails under the name of Social Democratic party—a party that is but the breath of the nostrils of self-seeking politicians and labor fakirs of too low a calibre to gain a foothold in the old parties of capitalism—a party that is the dumping ground of the international swindlers from Berlin, Germany, to Minneapolis, Minn.—a party that has for the working class no opinion other than that it is there to be used to promote the foul business interests of vile tax-paying bourgeois, and that imagines the working class may be cheated out of its erroneous habits of thought into new

and even more erroneous notions. That party has suffered heavily. Its previous increase during three years became its only argument. With that lure it imagined it could thrive in its impious policy. The lure collapsed. The glass egg broke. The supposed hen is not to be cheated again.

Thus in both respects the election figures are encouraging to the Socialist. The tidal wave for one of the old capitalist political parties that leaves the other stranded, and the heavy reverses of the vote-stuffed fraud of Social Democracy—these two facts are big with the assurance of proletarian emancipation, led by the ever proudly waving and clean banner of the Socialist Labor Party.

## BOURKE COCKRAN, LABOR AND PROSPERITY.

The political orators of the capitalist parties, in their anxiety to secure votes, evinced a solicitude for the interests of the working class in their speeches, that would make the latter appear revolutionary did not the occasion of their delivery and the facts in the matter stamp them as blatant demagogues. For instance, Bourke Cockran, in a speech "roasting" the Republican "prosperity" that he was paid to promote in 1896, says, with reference to the effects of that "prosperity" on labor:

"I have said that the most important question that can affect any community is the condition that fixes the rate of wages paid to labor. I say that because the question affects the condition of every man in the country.

"Now, we have just passed through a period which the Republicans declare has been one of great prosperity. We have just passed through a period where the price of wages was increased a little and the price of commodities increased wholesale—so that the laborer, instead of having his condition improved, was left either stationary or worse off than ever."

There can be no doubt, that, as Cockran declares, "prosperity" has left labor's condition either stationary or worse off than ever before—The People has shown that it has left labor worse off. But is the conclusion inevitable then, because of this fact, that "the condition" advocated by the Bourke Cockrans—in contradistinction to "the condition" produced by the Republicans—is the condition beneficial to workers? Let us see.

What is "the condition" the Republicans produce? "The condition" referred to is none other than that denounced so often by the orators, paid and unpaid, big and little, of the Democracy, whether rejuvenated or otherwise, viz, the tariff, which breeds "the criminal trust," "monopoly," the "inflation of stocks," "high prices," "panics," and all the other paraphernalia of a Democratic argument. From this presentation of "the condition" produced by the Republicans, one is expected to infer and believe that only in those countries where protection does not exist there exists no increase in prices, wages are high and the working class is smothered in the superabundance which free trade has thrust upon them. Is the expectation warranted or justified?

According to the "index number" figures of "the London Economist," as quoted in "The Evening Post" of Saturday, October 17, "the commodity prices" of the WORLD increased from 1,948 in December 1, 1902 to 2,146 in August, 1903, an increase of 154 points. This average increase in prices holds good for free trade England. Are the English working classes receiving wages equal to this increase? Is their condition rendered better or worse because of it? Let the following despatch from England, as published in The Daily People of October 19, tell the tale:

## "DEPRESSION IN ENGLAND."

"Abnormal Distress in London—Number of Paupers Greatly Increased in Ten Years.

"London, Oct. 18.—Owing to the general industrial depression in England the impending winter promises intense distress among the unemployed. It is anticipated that there will be abnormal distress in London, owing to the lack of employment, partly due to the suspension of municipal improvements and a slack shipping trade.

"The number of paupers in London is increasing monthly. In September, 1893, there were 9,700 recorded paupers; in September, 1903, that number had increased to 15,000.

"It is expected there will be a renewal of the processions of the unemployed which sadly and wearily tramped the London streets for months last winter.

"The London County Council has been investigating the subject of employment, and finds there does not exist sufficient work in the country to afford employment for the whole population.

The Council advises a reduction in the hours of labor and the consequent employment of more men. In the Lancashire cotton towns the distress continues acute, owing to the closure of the mills because of the high price of cotton. Thousands of workmen are being supported by charity, and their condition this winter promises to be worse. It is estimated that 30 per cent. of the population of England always lives on the border line of want, because it is unable to earn enough to provide for a rainy day.

"With the general industrial depression now existent the impending winter promises to be the worst known in years."

From the foregoing, it is evident that the workers of free trade, England not only "enjoy" high prices, but they are also reveling in the luxuries of an industrial depression, in accordance with the ideals of Bourke Cockran and the paid and unpaid orators of the Democracy, rejuvenated and otherwise. From the foregoing it will also be seen that whether the workers live in "the condition" denounced by the Bourke Cockrans, or whether they live in "the condition" advocated by them—the workers are continually between the devil and the deep blue sea, i. e., robbed and exploited and compelled to suffer privation and misery, in one condition as in the other, for the benefit of the capitalist class.

Labor will only know prosperity when that class is abolished and Socialism reigns in its stead. On with the work that will hasten the day!

## A GHASTLY EXHIBIT.

In the Cigarmakers' Official Journal for October 15 there appears, under the caption "Death Benefits Paid," a list of 325 deceased members, together with the cause of their death. In the long array of causes given, in which lung and heart diseases lead, one is horrified to find no less than nine cases of paresis, lunacy and insanity, and eleven cases of SUICIDE. For so small a number of deaths this is truly a ghastly exhibit.

What does this ghastly exhibit of insanity and suicide disclose? A life fraught with worry and despair. A life in which the hardships encountered in the struggle for existence destroys the mind, and in which the only avenue of escape is through the door of self-inflicted death.

In most modern industrial occupations there is an increased mortality among the workers owing to the intensification of labor, and the increased severity of capitalist conditions in general. The cigarmaking industry is one of the worst of these in this respect, and, to judge from this ghastly exhibit, it is one of the most horrible.

It is these conditions, so destructive of the sanity and life of the cigarmakers, that the Perkinses and Gomperses and the other labor fakirs at the head of the Cigarmakers' International Union are pledged to support. These notorious labor fakirs, when they preach the identity of interests between capital and labor and aid middle-class capitalism to combat trust capitalism, seek to perpetuate the system of industry responsible for the worry and the despair that destroy the minds and lives of the cigarmakers. They are accessories to the crime of capitalism!

Throw them off, cigarmakers! Work for the new trades unionism, that declares there can be no identity of interests between the capitalist who expropriates labor and the workingman who is expropriated, and who, in place of wealth, reaps insanity and suicide. Work for Socialism, which aims to end such ghastly exhibits as cigarmaking presents by introducing the collective ownership of capital and the collective distribution of wealth, under which labor will secure all its products, the robber capitalist class will be abolished, and peace, plenty and happiness for all will reign.

## "INDIVIDUALITY."

"Two Italians, known only by numbers, and an American, George Hiller, were killed and three Italians were injured by the overturning of a bucket which was being lowered into the pit of the Canadian Niagara Power Company at Niagara Falls, Ont., early today," so states a news despatch from Niagara Falls, October 27.

To all appearances this despatch is not unusual. So frequent are the number of disasters, in which workmen are killed and injured that a despatch of this kind fails to appear as extraordinary and as startling as it once would have been. Yet this despatch is not without its distinguishing features, as we shall presently see.

Capitalism prates long and loud and often about "individuality." "To develop the distinctive attributes and character-

istics of the individual, to guarantee the economic means by which the divergent personalities of men can be developed to the greatest good of themselves and society, is the particular achievement of capitalism, an achievement that Socialism, with its deadly monotony would destroy and which workmen should resent," so sing the poets of capitalism.

Turn to the above news despatch, and see the difference between capitalist poetry and fact. "Two Italians, known only by numbers"—there is "individuality" full blown and flourishing. There is the development of "divergent personalities," and the absence of "the dead level" that Socialism seeks to inaugurate, isn't there?

And yet such "individuality" is not confined to Italian laborers only. The millions of workers in mill, factory and mine, who ring up a time clock, or drop a time check in a contrivance set for the purpose, are "known only by numbers." And they, too, go to their labor little knowing when their "personalities" will be snuffed out by the superb economic means that capitalism provides for their development.

Under capitalism, labor is a merchandise, bought, like cattle, and other merchandise, according to the law of supply and demand. Since labor is bought, under capitalism, like cattle, and other merchandise, according to supply and demand, it is perfectly logical that it should be tagged like them according to the profit-making devices and requirements of the capitalist class.

It is superfluous to say Socialism would destroy the merchandise character of the workingman, while advancing his true individuality. And workmen are beginning to realize this in increasing numbers. The "dead level" they fly from is with them now, and must go—that is, the dead level wrought by the merchandise character of themselves.

The "return to 'normal conditions'" that the capitalists are dissipating so much "hot air" over, seems to be already here. The current issues of the newspapers contain the following interesting item:

"Failures during the month of October, according to the report of R. G. Dun & Co., were the heaviest for the month of October since 1893. Commercial failures during the past month numbered 1,086 and amounted to \$16,387,567, and 21 banking suspensions represented liabilities of \$13,984,635. In the corresponding month last year there were 963 commercial failures for \$10,851,534, and 10 fiduciary insolvencies for \$3,432,376. Manufacturing defaults were 316 in number and \$11,995,369 in amount, against 257 last year, involving \$5,670,187. Trading failures numbered 730, and liabilities were \$5,536,129, compared with 652 in 1902, for \$4,649,552. In other commercial lines, not properly included in the two principal divisions, there were 50 failures, with a defaulted indebtedness of \$856,069, against 54 a year ago, for \$831,795. Thus, while there was about the same increase in number of both manufacturing and trading suspensions, most of the difference in liabilities occurred in the manufacturing class, where losses were more than double those of October, 1902, and the increase was still larger when compared with the earlier years back to 1896."

"The heaviest for the month of October since 1893." Next year it will read: "Heavier than the month of October, 1903." Then conditions will certainly be "normal."

There is no telling what a labor fakir will say on the spur of the moment. A couple of weeks or so ago, Thomas I. Kidd, General Secretary of the International Woodworkers, tried to lead the country to believe that the trade unionists were so powerful that they could precipitate a panic by withdrawing their savings from the banks. Now he is sounding "a note of warning," saying, "There are breakers ahead for the trade union movement." What has happened to our bold warrior? Why is this great movement so powerful as to be able to wreak ruin now suddenly warned against it? Why is this defiant giant so suddenly converted into a braggart retreating from the storm he himself would have created? Will Kidd please explain?

## MRS. HUGH D. MAC TIER.

At the regular monthly meeting of the State Executive Committee of the S. L. P. in Virginia, held on Oct. 20, the following resolution was passed:

"The State Executive Committee of the S. L. P. in Virginia learns with deep regret of the death of the wife of Comrade Hugh D. MacTier, organizer of Section Roanoke, and for several years a member of the State Committee.

"We hereby record our sincere sympathy with Comrade MacTier in the great loss he has sustained, and it is ordered that this minute be entered in the records of the State Executive Committee, a copy of same sent to Comrade MacTier, and a copy of same furnished to The Daily People, with the request that it be published."

Thos. A. Hollins, Rec. Sec'y.  
Richmond, Va., Oct. 23.

## IS HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF?

The economic student reading David A. Wells' work, "Recent Economic Changes," is strongly impressed with the similarity between the conditions preceding the crisis of 1873 and the causes of the latter, described and enumerated in that work, and the conditions preceding the oncoming crisis, together with the causes alleged to be responsible for its approach.

Discussing the prosperity that raged prior to 1873 Wells says:

"It is also universally admitted that the years immediately precedent to 1873—i. e., from 1869 to 1872—constituted a period of most extraordinary and almost universal inflation of prices, credits and business; which, in turn, has been attributed to a variety or sequence of influences, such as excessive speculation; excessive and injudicious construction of railroads in the United States, Central Europe, and Russia (1867-73); the opening of the Suez Canal (1869); the Franco-German War (1870-71), and the payment of fifty-five hundred million francs (\$1,100,000,000) which Germany exacted from France (1871-73). The contemporary comments of two English journals of authority, on the course of events in 1872, constitute also an important contribution to our information on this subject. Under date of March, 1873, the London 'Economist,' in its review of the commercial history of the preceding year, says:

"Of all the events of the year (1872) the profound economic changes generated by the rise of prices and wages in this country, in Central and Western Europe, and in the United States, have been the most full of moment."

"And the London 'Engineer,' under date of February, 1873, thus further comments on the situation:

"The progress of events during 1872 will not soon be forgotten by engineers. The position assumed by the working classes, and the unprecedented demand for iron and machinery, combined to raise the cost of all the principal materials for construction to a point absolutely without parallel, if we bear in mind that the advance of prices was not localized, but universal, and that the duration of the rise was not limited to a few weeks, but, having extended already over a period of some months, shows little signs at this moment of any sensible abatement. In 1872 scarcely a single step in advance was made in the science or practice of mechanical engineering. No one had time to invent or improve, or try new things. The workingman is setting spurs to his employers with no gentle touch, and already we find that every master with capital at stake is considering how best he can dispense with the men who give him so much trouble. Of course, the general answer always assumes the same shape—use a tool whenever it is possible instead of a man."

If Wells were describing the period of prosperity precedent to the year 1903, he would, with some variations, draw almost the same capitalist pictures. "The years immediately precedent to 1903—i. e., from 1896 to 1902—also "constituted a period of most extraordinary and almost universal inflation of prices and credits and business," in which excessive speculation; excessive and injudicious construction, not of railroads, so much as industrial enterprises, played a part in the United States, Central Europe and Russia; and in which wars and their indemnities, together with the new fields of exploitation that they brought—i. e., the Spanish-American, Boer-Britain, and Chinese wars, and the development of the Philippines, South Africa and China—figured conspicuously.

Wells could also duplicate his quotations. Has not the steel and iron industry been so busy that the mills could not stop even for repairs, and, as a result, no new machinery was installed, while hundreds of workers were slaughtered, owing to this abnormal activity? And has not the workingman, according to the statement of Mark Hanna, printed in The People last week "set spurs to his employer" so that he too is considering how best he can dispense with him, only using retrenchment rather than invention as a means to that end? There is no doubt Wells could draw pictures between the two antecedent periods that would be similar in many respects; but it is only in the review of causes assigned for both the crisis of 1873 and the oncoming one of 1903, that he could make the picture accurate in near every detail. Says Wells, reviewing the causes assigned for the crisis of 1873:

"Nearly all investigators are agreed that the wide-spread and long continued 'depression of business' is referable not to one but a variety of causes, which have been more or less influential; and among such causes the following are generally regarded as having been especially potent: 'Over-production'; 'the scarcity and appreciation of gold'; or 'the depreciation of silver, through its demonization'; restrictions of the free course of commerce' through protective tariffs on one hand, and excessive and unnatural competition occasioned by excessive foreign imports contingent on the absence of 'fair' trade or protection on the other; heavy na-

tional losses occasioned by destructive wars, especially the Franco-Prussian War; the continuation of excessive war expenditures; the failure of crops; the unproductiveness of foreign loans or investments; excessive speculation and reaction from great inflations; strikes and interruption of production consequent on trades-unions and other organizations of labor; the concentration of capital in a few hands, and a consequent antagonizing influence to the equitable diffusion of wealth; 'excessive expenditures for alcoholic beverages, and a general improvidence of the working class.'"

Who doesn't hear almost all these capitalist "causes" assigned by the Republicans, Democrats, free-silverites, populists, anti-trusters, temperance reformers, manufacturers' associations, etc., today, as the "causes" that are producing the crisis of 1903? Wells does not agree that these causes are responsible for the crisis of 1873 and the long years of depression following. This he attributes to great economic changes destroying capital, displacing labor, and generally affecting exchange values in a manner detrimental to the institutions existing prior to their inauguration.

Is history repeating itself? Are recent economic changes, that is, the worldwide concentration of industry, not yet internationally perfected—which increase the stealings of unpaid labor—surplus value—and intensify the evils of capitalism in a universal manner—leading to another 1873, with its subsequent years of "prolonged business depression"? The above striking similarity from Wells impresses the dispassionate thinker with the belief that they are.

## SOME ELOQUENT LETTERS.

During the past week the following letter, postmarked, Oct. 21, with enclosure, was received from the valued cartoonist of The People, Sidney Armer, of San Francisco, Cal.:

"Editor People:—

"Dear Sir: I enclose a statement which I asked the registrar of voters to make for me. I knew it to be true, but wanted official endorsement as otherwise it would be my word against that of your informant.

"The 'Difference' pamphlet is worse than useless out here, thanks to this inaccuracy. On seeing this statement one is inclined to doubt the accuracy of facts he has not access to.

"Even the fact that the celebrated 'King' signs the paper herewith won't discredit the statement that Livenash ran only on the Union Labor party and Democratic tickets, and Costley ran against him on the Socialist ticket.

"I write this because I know you will understand that 'The Difference' pamphlet is a harm-worker for us, if it be not accurate."

"Sydney Armer."

This is the statement enclosed:

"Department of Elections,  
"Office of  
"Registrar of Voters,  
"San Francisco, Oct. 19, 1903.

"Sydney Armer,  
"San Francisco, Cal.

"Dear Sir:—In reply to your communication of the 14th inst., I will state that Mr. Edward J. Livenash was the candidate of the Democratic and the Union Labor party for Congressman from the Fourth District. The Socialist Party candidate at that election (1902) was Mr. William Costley.

"Trusting that this will be sufficient I remain,

"Respectfully,  
"Thos. J. Walsh,  
"Registrar of Voters.  
"Per C. H. King, deputy."

The above letter and its enclosure were about to be made the text of a Letter Box answer, when another letter from Sydney Armer, postmarked San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 22, arrived. Here it is:

"508 Cal. street, San Francisco.

"Editor People.

"Dear Sir:—I have investigated further and find that the accusation in 'The Difference' is well grounded. Costley did run against Livenash on the ticket, but after Costley had been nominated he was asked by vote of convention to withdraw, in order not to oppose the Union Labor party. He refused to obey the party will, and hence his name was on the ticket.

"I am wise as to their corruption.

"Sorry to have troubled you.

"Sincerely,  
"Sydney Armer."

These letters are printed because they are an eloquent endorsement of the Socialist Labor Party's accuracy of statement. The Socialist Labor Party, through its press and literature, makes no statement regarding its opponents that will not stand the test of investigation. Where, as in the case of the corruption practised by the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party, the deeds committed stand condemned by their very nature, 'twould be insanity. Falsehood and slander can be left to the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic party, which, being unable to meet the charges of the Socialist Labor Party, must needs fly to the poor and useless defense that they offer.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER  
JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—Do you know that I have at last found a flaw in Socialist reasoning?

UNCLE SAM.—If indeed you did, you could get a pension from any of our colleges; they are all looking frantically for a flaw in Socialism; they have discovered a score of them from time to time, but they have had to abandon them. The flaws lacked the essential qualities of a flaw. They proved each of them to be strong links in the chain mail of Socialism. He who would find a real flaw is a made man.

B. J.—Well, I did!

U. S.—Let her rip; what is it?

B. J.—Socialists want to abolish capital, isn't it?

U. S.—(hesitatingly)—Well?

B. J.—Now, then, without capital we would relapse into the barbarism of universal poverty. There would, true enough, not be any of the shocking contrasts we see to-day between extreme poverty and extreme wealth, with all the evils that that entails, but neither would we enjoy many an advantage we now enjoy. To destroy capital were to destroy a lever of civilization, and that, you know, is an impossible task. Civilization will not back; it will move forward only—

U. S. (applauding enthusiastically)—Well said!

B. J.—Wasn't I right? Is not that a fatal flaw in Socialism? I am glad to see you applaud me; it does not frequently happen.

U. S.—I applauded your last sentiments: "Civilization will not move backwards; its course is forward only." But the premises you start from are all wrong.

B. J.—Wrong!

U. S.—Yes. By the way, how did you like those glasses of applejack we had the other day?

B. J.—Prime they were. Shall we have another?

U. S.—Not just now; they were fine, tasted good, did you good—

B. J.—(smacking his lips)—And no mistake.

U. S.—Now, then, suppose some man were to say to you: "He who takes applejack dies instantaneously under painful convulsions and great agony!"

B. J.—I would tell him he was talking through his hat.

U. S.—And suppose he were to proceed to take out of his pocket a bottle labelled "Applejack," were to give that to a dog, and the dog were forthwith to kick and howl himself out of life?

B. J.—I would say the bottle's label was a fraud; it might bear the label of "applejack," but probably it contained strychnine.

U. S.—Suppose, now, that man were to say, "I call this 'applejack.'"

B. J.—I would say to him that he was free to call it what he liked, but I call it strychnine, and that to give the name of applejack to a thing known as strychnine was a quibble and a fraud.

U. S.—You have just now accurately described the man who will give the name of "capital" to what is no more capital than strychnine is applejack.

B. J. (looks up with surprise).

U. S.—It is not capital that constitutes the lever of civilization you speak of; it is the concentrated and perfected machinery of production, whereby co-operative work becomes possible, and the quantity of wealth yielded by labor is plentiful enough to afford comfort to all without arduous toil.

B. J.—Isn't that capital?

U. S.—No, sir. That becomes capital only when it is owned by private individuals. Owned by private individuals and operated for their private profit, the concentrated machinery of production becomes "capital," and then, so far from being a lever of civilization and a source of human welfare, it becomes a lever of barbarism and a source of human misery. It strips concentrated machinery and production and co-operative work of all the good that is in them; it robs them of their civilizing and beneficent powers; it promotes on the one end of the social ladder popular poverty, such as was never before known in the world's history, and on the other end, purse-proud crime, ignorance and immorality.

B. J. (eyes open wide).

U. S.—Socialism wants to destroy capital: i. e., the form of private ownership of the modern and concentrated machinery of production.

B. J.—I now see.

U. S.—Socialists do not oppose, on the contrary, they favor, promote and half every progress of the sciences that causes production to be carried on in a

(Continued on page 6.)



## CORRESPONDENCE

(CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS. BEHIND THEIR OWN SIGNATURES AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.)

## THE SPANISH SOCIALISTS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I have just seen a copy of The Weekly People for September 19, in which there is a letter referring to the Spanish Socialist party. As you ask in the "Letter-Box" for information regarding affairs here, the following may be of interest:

Up to this year the Socialists pursued a policy of hostility to all other parties; but there is a clause in the party constitution by which, if two-thirds of the party vote for an alliance, such can take place. Under this clause certain members of the party sent up a proposition for an alliance with the Republicans.

This proposal was opposed by the Executive, referred to a general vote and finally rejected. The vote was as follows: For the alliance, 26 branches (1,047 members); against, 50 branches (1,637 members); not voting, 2 branches. In conclusion, I may say that from my own experience I can say the party here compares favorably with the majority of the European Socialist parties; but, owing to the backward economic conditions, is not so clear as the S. L. P. With fraternal greetings, P. F. Gihon, Spain, Oct. 11, 1903.

## IRON MOLDERS FURNISH OBJECT LESSON.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—There is going on in this city a strike, which is an object lesson which fully proves the contention of the S. L. P. that the pure and simple union is absolutely impotent to protect the working class.

Some two weeks since a strike was called by the iron molders employed in the Erie Foundry. The company had installed machines, and, instead of allowing the molders to operate them, employed laborers, as the cost of production would be very much reduced, which, of course, would give the company larger profit.

The strike is still on, and even if it was won by the molders, they would not gain anything, for the simple reason that some of them would be displaced by the machine.

The company, as soon as the strike was called, had the entire plant fenced in, and immediately imported professional strike-breakers to take the place of the molders. The foundry is now running full blast, as the other "union men" employed in the plant remained at work. This is a sample of "unionism," as exemplified by the pure and simple.

Of course, the strikers have their picketing committee on guard, but the foundry company has theirs also. Every night and morning there is a policeman or two detailed to preserve "law and order." This detail is in no way necessary, as the strikers are not looking for trouble, and employ themselves in various ways, such as playing football, pitching quoits with horseshoes, etc.

In answer to the question, "How long will the strike continue?" one of the strikers replied: "We don't care if it continues all winter. We are out to win."

The officials of the company, however, claim that "the strike is ended," which means that they have won their strike for larger profits.

Thus it is clearly evident that the molders are up against a hard proposition. Jer. Devine.

Erie, Pa., Oct. 25, 1903.

## COMMUNISM AND SOCIALISM.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—A few days ago I had a conversation with a person (he refused to give his name) who claimed to be a Communist. He condemned Socialism as incorrect, because it teaches that under the Socialist Republic the laborer will receive the full product of his toil, giving as an example that men born crippled or weak-minded have to look for charity, and the support given to them by society would also be charity.

His philosophy was that 95 per cent. of all we behold in San Francisco we all have equally inherited as equipment from previous generations. Also, that all the products we can produce equally with the help of the equipment should be equally divided between all members of society—marking that the full product of his toil, as advocated by Socialism, is very, very unjust, because in that case some can get more than others.

"Equality" was every second word in his talk, when asked to draw a definite program, so definite that we may start in practical Communism tomorrow. He admitted he had never read Kropotkin's or Bakunin's works, and refused to give the name of the author of his theory.

My answer was that Socialists are going to abolish the capitalist system—abolish rent, interest and profit. After that society would shape things to suit themselves; to every one the full product of his toil; or, when the development of machinery allows of the production of the necessities of life more plentifully and without skill, to everybody according to his needs, or every one to share equally.

These problems will be easily decided in a Socialist society, but to draw a definite program now is the same as to draw a chart of the South Pole and later change it every fortnight.

The Utopians one hundred years ago drew a program; still they did not accomplish anything. Science advances every day, and changes the means of production. Socialists, for that reason, will not attempt to draw a program of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

I told him that a Socialist society would consider it its moral duty to support individuals mentally and physically unable to work, and that when any person, or set of persons, acknowledged it their moral duty to do something, the word charity and the meaning of that word is altogether out of place.

I admitted every individual is equally entitled to the fruits of modern civilization. Under the Socialist Republic, I explained, the opportunity would be given every member of society to acquire knowledge and use the fruits of present civilization for his own material benefit; that the professor, or astronomer, who spent years and years in study, most assuredly would receive more compensation than the office boy whose job—spittoon cleaning and—sweeping the floor—requires no skill and no study.

J. Jurgens.

San Francisco, Cal., Oct. 28.

## A COMMON EXPERIENCE.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Being an officer of a pure and simple union (the United Metal Workers), the proposition was made to me that I write an article for our monthly journal. While I was of the opinion that it would not be printed, I believed it was my duty as a class-conscious member of a trade union to take advantage of the opportunity to give the rank and file the benefit of my experiences; attempt to convince them beyond a doubt as to the economic conclusions I have arrived at, and, if possible, lead them on the only road toward their emancipation.

The article was written and sent. It was printed, but cut down from about fourteen hundred words to one hundred and twenty-five. While it might have been the essence of what I wished to express, it defeated my object of opening the eyes of my fellow workers who put their faith in so-called leaders. I was notified that I must use diplomacy.

I can readily see the necessity of a paper that is published by the working class in its own interest. While I cannot become a member of the Party, as I am an officer of a pure and simple union (a rule which I heartily endorse), there is nothing to prevent me from working in the interest of the Party Press and casting my ballot for a class-conscious party with tactics that will emancipate the wage slaves.

Trusting that all the class-conscious workers will use their utmost endeavors to build up a large circulation for The People, I remain, with heart and soul for the workers and The People—may they both spread themselves, one as an agitator and the other as an educator of working class principles.

A Metal Worker.

Detroit, Mich., Oct. 26.

## BOGUS SOCIALIST DEMANDS PROOF, AND GETS IT.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The "Socialist" party of many names has been holding forth at the corner of Twelfth and Cotton streets, in this city, every week for some time past, the speakers telling their hearers that it was the only political party representing the working class, etc.

On Oct. 21 they held another meeting, with E. Leffler as the speaker, and when he finished speaking he got off the box without asking for questions. One of the audience called out: "I would like to ask a question!" Leffler got on the box again, giving the excuse that he had forgotten to ask for questions. The questioner then asked: "How about that armory affair?" and explained that he was prompted to ask it by looking at a leaflet entitled "What Is the Difference?" given him by an S. L. P. man who was present.

Leffler having seen the leaflets distributed, and knowing the S. L. P. man, proceeded to answer the question in this manner: "He is a good Socialist," etc. "We worked side by side in the old S. L. P. until a family scrap took place in the party over the trades union question, on which the party split. It is true that Carey voted for the armory, but it was a mistake," and etc., etc.

Then Leffler said that Carey belonged to the S. L. P. at the time. He was quickly told that such was not the case, as Carey belonged to the Social Democratic party when he voted for the \$15,000 armory appropriation.

Leffler then tried to wrangle from the box, but was told to proceed with his explanations, and an S. L. P. man would take the box when he got through. This proposition he couldn't very well back out of, so he wound up by warning the crowd that his opponent would assail socialism.

When the S. L. P. man got on the box he said that he would grant, for argument's sake, the oft-made assertion that the armory affair was ancient history. He then explained how every political party is responsible for the actions of its representatives, and began to show how the so-called "Socialist" party of many names upholds any old action of its representatives, whether it be traitorous to the interests of the working class or not.

"They are no longer satisfied with building armories," said he; "they are now actually running a militia officer, a lieutenant, for public office on their ticket."

At this point Leffler demanded proof of the assertion. The S. L. P. man took out a paper, and Leffler at once asked what paper it was. His opponent replied that it was The People.

"I will not accept it. It is no good!" shouted Leffler.

"I thought as much," retorted the S. L. P. man; "that is why I said so, but this paper happens to be the Waltham Evening News, of the city of Waltham, Mass., where the 'popular' militiaman is running on your ticket."

The item in the News proving the assertion was then read, and Leffler again given the box to defend his party. He began in the usual kangaroo style about assailing Socialism and shouting scab, and springing the old gag about the Davis cigar shop strike, in which he claimed that the S. L. P. men had scabbed on the C. M. N. U.

His opponent here took the stand and explained the manner in which the Davis strike was brought about, and the fact that the C. M. I. U. tried to force a strike on the men when the shop was an open one, and the employees had voted not to strike.

He further stated that he had in his possession a copy of an article published over the signatures of J. M. Barnes, H. C. Parker and three others, in which it was stated that C. M. I. U. men scabbed on their own members at the time referred to, and told any who doubted him that he would give them the date and address of the New York Volkszeitung in which the statement was published. All this didn't satisfy Leffler, who tried to offset it by asking a cigar-maker friend present if his charges against S. L. P. men were not true. Of course, the cigar-maker said "Yes."

We then challenged the "Socialists" to debate the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Socialist party is the only bona fide working class political party," they to take the affirmative and we the negative, but they declined.

Last evening we had some Philadelphia members of the Party up here and held a meeting within a stone's throw of the Kangaroos, who had Sam Clark as their speaker. We distributed about 500 of "The Difference" to both audiences, and again tried to get them to arrange a debate, but failed. Those "valiant" defenders of militiamen know why.

A Socialist.

Reading, Pa., Oct. 25, '03.

## "SOCIALIST" SOLIDARITY.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It is a matter of "Socialist" party history that during sometime last year "Local" Omaha adopted "De Leonistic tactics" and expelled from its membership, with several others, one George E. Baird for dickering with Republicans and receiving passes and other material aid from them. These exiles then organized the "Propaganda Club," a rival of the local party organization.

This George E. Baird has recently located in Kansas City, and was received with open arms by "Local" Jackson County, a branch of the party from which he had been expelled in Omaha. They have taken him into membership, and he is one of their principal local speakers. How is that for solidarity?

If this party was a genuine Socialist party the State Committee would revoke the charter of "Local" Jackson County, or their failing to do their duty, the National Committee would take them. But that would be "De Leonism." Down with such a gang, that drags the honored name of Socialism in the dust, and up with the S. L. P.

J. W. McFall.

Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 25.

## PEEKSKILL VINDICATES RIGHT TO FREE SPEECH.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—To demonstrate that The Socialist Labor Party cannot be prevented from holding meetings on the public streets, an open-air meeting was held here on the 24th. Comrade Jager addressed a fair-sized audience. The weather was very unfavorable, still the crowd stood to the end.

We have shown that our claim that we have a right to hold meetings holds good, and any ordinance to the contrary will not be honored. It is well to mention that ever since our trouble with the police, the Kangs. have laid low. They did not attempt to hold a meeting. I understand that Fieldman, the Yiddish Kang, who takes no orders from any one except Jesus Christ, was in the vicinity, but gave Peekskill a wide berth.

Comrade Jager told us that since we held a meeting they will now pick up courage and say, "Vot, we afrait of the police?" Never!

We were well pleased with the result of our meeting. Jager made a lasting impression. Next day the writer accompanied Comrade Jager to Newburgh, where he addressed a small, but appreciative audience.

Section Newburgh is small in numbers, but what they lack in quantity, they make up in quality. They are well able to take care of the affairs of the Party. The Kangs. are dead there. They bored themselves out of existence.

The Trade Union is very strong in Newburgh; so strong that they entered the political field and nominated the same candidates the Democratic Party did.

The only ones that were not swept off their feet by the storm are the workmen who trained with The Socialist Labor Party. They present a solid front to all kinds of fake movements. There

is a solid foundation in Newburgh; and the rest will come in time.

In Peekskill some on was anxious to know the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party. Jager told them the difference. He read from a bogus Socialist paper where two Socialist Democrats are said to be implicated in securing an injunction against workmen.

Jager said: "We thought surely the Social Democrats, corrupt as they are, would not allow such men to remain members of their party; and this is how they were expelled."

Here Jager unfolded a lithograph which read: "For Justice, L. M. Boudin." "The same man who helped a capitalist to get an injunction against his workmen on strike, was nominated for office. Now, do you see the difference?"

Chas. Zolot.

Peekskill, N. Y., Oct. 28.

## JAMESTOWN'S SUCCESSFUL MEETING.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—No doubt the readers of our party press will be pleased to learn of the success of the first attempt upon our part to enlighten the wage slaves in the mills and factories here on their important duty, namely, to work for the emancipation of the working class from the galling yoke of wage slavery.

For the first time the poor slaves in this blighted town of capitalism heard the joyful tidings of a freedom that they are destined to enjoy here upon earth; and, judging from the eager manner in which they received the literature, that was passed out at the meeting held last evening upon the public square, which was addressed by Comrade Frank F. Young, of Cincinnati, it is safe to assume that ere long, with some hustling, a good section can be enrolled in the vanguard of the fighting S. L. P. in this place.

If ever there was a contrast showing the difference between the idle capitalist parasite and the useful but oppressed worker it exists here. And for that reason we will strive to our utmost to point out to the despairing toiler the one true faith of freedom and happiness. This was in great part the subject of Comrade Young's address Saturday evening.

After having shown the audience how necessary it was to have food, clothing, and shelter in order to sustain life, and also showing how, under the present system, the workers spent their whole lives in a continual grind to get a bare sufficiency of the necessities of life, because of the existence of a social system based upon the private ownership of the land and all other means of production, he pointed out clearly how it was possible to overcome capitalism; which made those things possible, by the working class, as a body, becoming conscious of their economic interests and then capturing the political powers of the nation, state and municipality, to the end that they may dispossess the capitalist class from the mills, factories, mines, railways, etc., which they have acquired through the operation of the wages system, which robs the working class.

The speaker further called the attention of his hearers to the fact that there could be but one aim and object of a political party to-day: either it must strive to perpetuate capitalism, which means further degradation of the working class, or else it must strive for a co-operative commonwealth, under which all who were able and willing would be given abundant opportunity to earn their livelihood, and would be placed in a position free from want and the fear of want, by receiving the full value of the product of their labor. This, declared the speaker, is why political parties are in existence.

While showing that it was the Socialist Labor Party alone that had for its object the abolition of capitalism and wage slavery, Young also showed the connection between the parties of the capitalist class, against all of which the Socialist Labor Party has taken its stand and will continue to attack until it has marched over their prostrate forms to final victory.

Young took occasion to show the chicanery and deceit that is perpetrated upon the working class by the Social Democratic party, citing as illustrations their professions of sympathy towards the pure and simple trade unions in trying to prejudice the minds of the working class against the S. L. P. by shouting "scab" and "union wreckers," while at the same time they stood ready to scab themselves, as was done in the late Lynn shoe strike.

After telling of other incidents, such as the Boudin-Pollock furnishing of injunctions, etc., to the capitalist class, by this party of many names, he requested the workers present to investigate for themselves what had been said, adding that if this were done the Socialist Labor Party would have nothing to fear as it had always stood where a bona fide Socialist party should stand, that it had never yet done a single thing that a self-respecting organization would be ashamed to repeat. Young also stated that it was because of the confusion that is raised by the bogus Socialist party in the interest of the capitalist class that the Socialist Labor Party is not to-day in a position to have its representatives in the legislative halls to protest against the use of the political powers by the capitalist class against the working class.

No doubt some of the bogus Socialists who were present heard some things that they had not yet been informed upon. With three of their candidates in the audience, not one of them had a word to say when the opportunity to ask questions were given.

Taking into consideration that the

evening was quite cold and that the speaker's voice was rather hoarse, it was a successful meeting. There were upwards of 600 pieces of literature distributed, including about 200 Differences. No doubt some good will come of this meeting.

We are to hold two more meetings next Saturday and Sunday, with Comrade Jeremiah Devine, of Erie, Pa., as the speaker, and we expect to be able to follow up last night's effort successfully, as we feel confident that our class is capable of self-emancipation. Bel.

Jamestown, N. Y., Oct. 25.

## CROOKS FALL OUT.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The enclosed article appeared in the Labor World of Yonkers, a pure-and-simple trade union paper run by Social Democrats, in its issue of October 25. Judging from the article, it appears that Mr. Bennetts, a Social Democrat, wrote to his fellow members who run the paper protesting against "ads" of capitalist political candidates and unfair concerns appearing in its columns. The Social Democrats have apparently given up acting on the principle of "You're a crook; I'm a crook; you keep quiet and I'll keep quiet."

Peter Jacobson.

Yonkers, N. Y., Oct. 24.

## "AN ANSWER TO MR. BENNETTS."

"While our charitable frame of mind almost prevailed with us not to answer Mr. Bennetts' letter, for his own sake, we still decided to answer that letter for the purpose of informing Mr. Bennetts on one point which he apparently does not understand or does not know.

"The question of which concerns are 'fair' and which are not, is not left by the American Federation of Labor for Mr. Bennetts to decide. The Executive Council, of which, possibly by an oversight, Mr. Bennetts does not happen to be a member, usually attends to this work, and declares on the 'unfair' list such concerns as have, by the employment of non-union labor, by handling of non-union goods or for any other reason, shown their animosity toward organized labor. In this branch of work, possibly through the absence of Mr. Bennetts, they are not guided by their political convictions, and would just as readily declare 'unfair' a man who would claim to be a Socialist and still employ scab labor on his work."

"The Labor World, being a trade-union paper, non-political, cannot place any Republican or Democratic candidates on the 'unfair' list just because Mr. Bennetts thinks them to be 'unfair.' Had the gentleman found us advertising a man who was put on the 'unfair' list by organized labor we would have acknowledged having 'sold ourselves for a miserable pittance,' and would have considered Mr. Bennetts' abortive attempts at being ironical at least justified.

"The matter being otherwise, we simply venture to ask Mr. Bennetts to remember the 'healer; heal thyself' quotation; for we happen to know that, notwithstanding his strong political views and love for the poor 'downtrod' (shades of Devery!), he never protested when an official organ of his party has accepted 'ads' from capitalist candidates (we mean the New York Volkszeitung), neither did he deliver himself of any thundering epistles when another publication of his party (we mean the Labor Fair Journal) accepted an advertisement from Siegel & Cooper at the time when there was a strike on in one of its departments.

"Why did Mr. Bennetts keep quiet? Was it because he approved of it, or was it because it happened in his own bunch, or was it because he did not care to attack his own leaders, or was it because he did not consider himself a man big enough to kick in New York, but thinks he is just of proper size to kick now and here? 'Healer, heal thyself!' Think twice before you commit your ramblings to paper. "Advertising Manager."

## PRINCIPLE, ABOVE ALL THINGS, WINS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—A year ago, on the eve of election, I sent a communication, bringing out the point, that no one should be deterred from voting the Socialist Labor Party ticket because he might not expect the result of his effort to be immediate success, inasmuch as truth and right are an indestructible growth and really do advance whether we perceive it or not. There are many other reasons which make it imperative for a person to uphold his principles at all times and in all circumstances—such as his own rectitude, encouragement to others, sustenance of the cause, etc., etc.—but this one idea, perhaps little newer than the sun, is worthy of continual presence in our thoughts.

It is admitted that the cause of Socialism is in the stage of a campaign of education; that is, that converts to it are secured and the cause advanced by convincing men's minds, including our own. The policies of such a cause may be divided into two main parts, those which contain the theoretical accuracy of the plan and those which embody the practical means for its advancement. Standing by one's principles is included in the latter class of actions; the principles themselves should embody all of the former. That is to say, one's principles should be the embodiment of one's conceptions of right and duty, and one's actions in support of his principles should include all and every right means.

The historical argument was invoked, to show that the abolition of slavery, which was one of the most momentous human actions the world has ever accomplished, was brought about and actually secured through the growth of the single idea that slavery was intolerably wrong. William Lloyd Garrison had a

## LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

(NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.)

M. C. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Answering questions 1, 3 and 4, which are essentially the same—The S. L. P. has no objection to the membership of the middle class man who proves by his actions that he is in thorough accord with the S. L. P. Such objection, if practically enforced, would debar such men as Bebel, Singer, and others, who have shown themselves to be Socialists of the best type. Answering question 6—But it is not to be inferred from this fact that the membership of middle class men in the S. L. P. will justify any and every kind of exploitation that they may find it profitable to engage in. Even capitalist society tries to draw the line against sweatshops, child slavery, female labor, under certain conditions, dangerous surroundings, unsanitary factories, peonage, and numerous other forms of exploitation. The S. L. P. will certainly not be found lagging behind capitalist society in this respect. It certainly will not allow membership in its ranks to be used as a permit to engage in such things. Answering question 2—There is only a difference in degree and not in kind between the man who exploits one man and he who exploits 1,000. Answering question 5—A man anxious for material and not moral success would certainly be a fool if, under present conditions, he failed to seize an opportunity to exploit, but his wisdom does not necessarily qualify him for membership in the S. L. P., as your questions seem to imply. If the working class permitted the "wisdom" of the capitalist to denigrate it there would be no Socialist Labor Party.

B. S. VANCOUVER, B. C.—Your letter has been turned over to the N. E. C. It is not within the province of this office to grant your request.

W. V. LIBBY, MINN.—Your argument is a common one. But it in no wise answers the facts presented against the "Socialists," alias Social Democrats. Unity is only possible between Socialist forces. The record of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic party, on both the economic and the political field, proves it to be a capitalist force. Read that record as given in the leaflet "The Difference," and be convinced by investigating the facts mentioned therein. Then come again.

T. F. McC., HOBOKEN, N. J.—The pair of worthies named in your letter left the Massachusetts S. L. P. while charges of grafting were being prepared against

harder and more discouraging task perhaps than the noble leaders of the cause of Socialism, at its present advanced stage, have to combat. The amount of potential conviction of the correctness and feasibility of Socialism which permeates all classes of society throughout the world to-day is simply incalculably great. If the coal strike had continued two weeks longer, or if the temperature had fallen ten degrees during the last two weeks of the strike's continuance, Socialism would have grown more in those two weeks than it has grown in twenty years. It would have come so close to accomplishment that there would not have been much laugh in the difference. Socialism is probably fitly to be likened to a magazine of powder, which needs only a match to show forth its might. It may be lighted singly in parts, as it is now rapidly being lighted, or it may explode in whole. The (numerically) great Democratic party is full of members whose tenure is by a thread. The (numerically) great Populist party was made up of members of the Democratic party whose thread broke. Even the Republican party has little else than graft with which to hold its membership together, and the supply of graft is wholly inadequate. The trend of all of these is right into the fold of Socialism.

Let American voters look at the German Socialists and scorn to be recreant to their principles. German Socialism is fighting a good fight and its quality is fast becoming "the real article." Let us consider our brothers in countries of such difficulties as Spain, Belgium, and others in worse case, and rejoice to give and to follow such example. Let the pitiable poor citizens of Russia be remembered, and the foulness of disloyalty can no longer offend our own nostrils. Remember two things: that a Socialist Labor Party member is enlisted for life, and that the figures of the growth of real Socialism given on the editorial page of The Daily People show that true and permanent Socialism is growing fast, and that the intelligence and loyalty of its membership will not permit its voters to refrain from voting, or from urging all others to vote, for truth and the right—which even this generation shall see crowned with overwhelming and final success. Vote right, and avoid the necessity of ultimately shooting right.

Fraternally,

Alfred C. Coursen.

Huntington, L. I., Oct. 25.

## QUALITY, NOT QUANTITY, COUNTS.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I herewith renew my subscription to The Daily People. Keep up the good work of the battering ram on all opposition to the Socialist Labor Party.

They who, with brazen duplicity, masquerade as Socialists, copy all the forms and procedure of the S. L. P.; the movement they do not commend to their membership. "Seed to disrupt the only intertidal movement of the working class!" Surely not! The Socialist Labor Party is too

them. Both have unsavory reputations as the living exponents of the free-love doctrines they denounce. This office has not seen the criticisms you refer to, and, since you do not mention date of issue, cannot obtain a copy to express an opinion one way or the other on them.

J. G. D., SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—The opinion you request will be given next week.

C. S. ADAMS, MASS.—Read the answer to M. T. B. Lynn, Mass., in issue of two weeks ago. It applies to same parties.

Your method of propaganda appears deficient. In New York City "The Difference" is made effective by distributing it with some leaflet setting forth Socialist principles, or in connection with street meetings at which those principles are expounded. Rome wasn't built in a day, and when it is considered that the workingman's conceptions of right and wrong are the result of generations of corrupt capitalist teachings, it is not likely that they can be changed by a leaflet, no matter how written. Time, patient and endless perseverance, on the part of Socialists, assisted by industrial evolution, are necessary to bring about true understanding of the immoralities of capitalism.

W. H. C. NORTH ADAMS, MASS.—See first part of above answer to C. S. Adams, Mass. The nearness of the insects unduly magnifies their true proportions.

E. K., PATERSON, N. J.—If the majority of the section approves of it, and the speeches delivered are bona fide speeches, there is nothing unconstitutional in the thing you complain of. A well-known sympathizer of Section New York is permitted to make speeches under these circumstances.

O. O., CUMBERLAND, WEST VA.—They permitted the kangas to take the offensive in the matter and bowl them off the ticket.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.—Answers next week.

C. R. G. HOUSTON, TEXAS; H. B. MILWAUKEE, WIS.; J. A. S. and A. O. G. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; C. A. LOS ANGELES, CAL.; C. S. ADAMS, MASS.; W. H. C. NORTH ADAMS, MASS.; M. T. B. LYNN, MASS.; O. M. J., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.—Matter received.

narrow to permit of any grafting, as the Fifth avenue residents do not contribute to its funds. This being the object and purpose of the Deberie et al., the S. L. P. has no fascination for them.

As it is, their custom to reach out for part of the swag gathered together by Mr. Plutocrat to defray the expense of the Presidential campaign, we can look forward to the election of 1904, with the grand chieftain of graft touring the country and striving to manifest himself after having kept out of sight during the intervening four years.

The smaller numbers of the S. L. P. should not dampen the ardor of the membership, as what is lacking in quantity is made up for in quality.

Integrity must and will reign supreme, thus the S. L. P. can bide its time. The various counter movements led by frauds will work their own downfall, and leave the way clear for the S. L. P. to gain a solid, compact body of class-conscious Socialists and uphold the organization that will secure to the worker the full product of his labor, the realization of liberty and happiness, instead of its pharisee and capitalist vandalism.

Keep at it! Lambast all the crooks, from Mr. Capitalist down to his ballot-box stuffers.

Let none of them retard S. L. P. progress, nor escape its broadside.

H. Newman.

Phila., Pa., Oct. 24.

## THE RED CIRCULAR.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—No doubt, every Party member has by this time read the "Red Circular" issued by the National Executive Committee. The figures presented therein show that the debt on The Daily People plant has been cut down to a figure which, calculated



## OFFICIAL

**NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**—Meeting Secretary, 24 New York street, New York.

**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA**—National Secretary, C. A. Walcott, 234 Dundas street, London, Ont.

**NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY**, 24 New York street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in the office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

## CANADIAN S. L. P.

The regular session of the N. E. C. was held at headquarters, London, Ont., on Oct. 30, Comrade G. L. Boyce presiding, and Courtenay appointed recording secretary pro tem. All members in attendance.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were adopted as read.

Communications:—From Section Vancouver, stating that the denunciations sent out by the N. E. C. to a number of papers in British Columbia had not been published. Also referring to the procuring of report blanks for sections to report their standing to the N. E. C., and the expulsion of one James Molano from the party.

The matter of report blanks for Sections was laid over until next meeting, and the secretary was instructed to send postal cards to the papers he had sent the denunciations to asking why same had not been published.

A communication was received from the auditing committee of Section London relative to the books of the National Secretary and Treasurer of the N. E. C. stating that evidently the officers had not closed their books on the same date and it was impossible to audit same correctly. After discussing this matter for some time it was decided to look over the books at once and see where the mistake lay. After a very short perusal of the books it was seen that where money had been received prior to Sept. 30 by one officer it had not been received by the other until October, and consequently did not appear on his books. The matter was however easily corrected and the books once more ready for scrutiny of the auditing committee of Section London.

Reports.—The secretary acknowledged the receipt of 5,000 leaflets, "The Effect of Machinery on the Working Class" from Section London.

In reply to a question from Comrade Ross the secretary reported having sent out eighteen circular letters.

It was decided to appoint a permanent recording secretary at once, although Section London had failed to elect a comrade to the vacancy on the N. E. C. caused by the resignation of Comrade H. Wade. Comrade Courtenay was elected.

Philip Courtenay,  
Recording Secretary.

## MASSACHUSETTS S. E. C.

Regular meeting Massachusetts State Executive Committee, Boston, Mass., Oct. 23, called to order by the chairman, John R. Scham. In the absence of the secretary, Michael P. Berry, John F. Coyle was elected secretary pro tem. Reading of records of previous meeting dispensed with.

Agitation Committee reported that they have not heard from State Organizer Carroll since he went to Western Massachusetts, and that James Connolly had held a number of good meetings in the last two weeks, and an intended work in Brockton by the committee. Report was accepted for new business.

Report of Auditing Committee on the Healy benefit accepted.

Bills from Labor News Company for 111,000 of "The Difference" accepted and ordered paid.

Bill for State document from Labor News Company laid on the table.

Report of Agitation Committee taken from the table and acted upon. Action: That Comrade Dyer Enger have charge of the agitation work of this committee in Boston, and the distribution of leaflets, etc., and that he have power to call for assistance from the members.

Report of Weekly People contest on prizes offered by S. E. C. taken up for action, and the committee having the same in charge ordered to notify the Sections to push the work of securing subscribers and to otherwise comply with the plan which has been sent them, and to get down to work at once.

The request of Section Gardner that speaker be sent them for Saturday, Oct. 31, of C. W. Doyle, that speaker be sent to Webster and, of Worcester, for speaker for Sunday, Nov. 1, were acted upon. Berry will go to those places, as follows: Webster, Tuesday, Oct. 30; Gardner, Saturday, Oct. 31; Worcester, Nov. 1.

State document taken from the table and acted upon as follows: That we refuse to accept it; that the last two pages, which contain matter not ordered, be stricken out, and proper matter dealing with state issues be inserted and new leaflet printed; and it was further ordered that secretary notify Labor News Company that we will not accept the leaflets as printed, and shall not pay for them same, and that we hold them at their risk; that they contain matter not ordered.

In the matter of a recent article which purports to be an interview with Thos. F. Brennan, our candidate for Governor, printed first in the Boston Post, since then in the Boston Globe and also in The People, it is ordered that we repudiate the same, and that Comrade Brennan draw the correction of the same in the press, and that a committee of three be elected to draft resolutions protesting to N. E. C. for publication of same in Party press, and its insertion in our State leaflet.

Hagan, Oldham and Coyle, committee to draft resolution of protest, they to report back to the S. E. C.

Secretary ordered to obtain the resig-

nations of all candidates on State ticket, as per constitution, and to call on Sections to attend to this matter locally and to forward the same to this committee.

Secretary ordered to stop Sections putting defective State document in circulation. Voted to meet again Sunday, Nov. 1. Adjourned.

Michael F. Berry,  
Sec'y Mass. S. E. C.

## ILLINOIS S. E. C.

Meeting of Illinois State Executive Committee held at Collinsville, Ill., October 18. Edie and Surber absent. Veal elected chairman. Moses Fennel was accepted as member of the S. E. C. from Section Madison Co., in place of David Reed, who has moved to Arkansas. Minutes of previous meeting were approved as corrected.

Final report of Pierson, giving account of his two weeks' work in East St. Louis and Belleville, stating that he had secured 130 subscriptions for Weekly People, seven for Monthly People, one for Arbeiter Zeitung, selling seventy-nine pamphlets, holding eight meetings, and getting an application for membership, was accepted. Organizer reported that he had made arrangements for Pierson to begin work immediately for the Missouri State Committee and continue in that State for one month; that he had also practically closed agreements for Pierson to work one month in Texas and four in California, after which he would return to begin operations in Illinois.

Communication.—From Duquoin requesting services of Pierson for one week. Organizer reported that he had replied that Pierson, having finished his work in the State, Section Duquoin would have to wait till next year. Action: Indorsed. From Springfield, asking how long Pierson would remain in the State. From Chicago, reporting work of the section, inclosing \$3 for State fund and ordering stamps. From Hoffman, of Quincy, stating that a Kangaroo, one Collins, denied charge of Pierson that he failed to meet him in debate, but when Hoffman offered to arrange a debate between an S. L. P. man and him he refused, saying he was "not going around with a chip on his shoulder." From Peoria, on the work of the section there.

The organizer was instructed to give a full report of Pierson's work in the State to the sections and members at large and to appeal to them to prepare for the work before us next year.

## Financial Report.

General Fund.—Balance on hand, October 4, \$100; receipts from Section Chicago, for stamps, \$1.80; from Belleville, for stamps, \$3.80; total, \$11.50; expenditures: to N. E. C. for stamps, \$7; balance on hand, \$4.50.

State Fund.—Balance on hand, October 4, \$1.26; receipts: from Section Chicago, \$8; from Section Belleville, \$7; from Section East St. Louis, \$3.75; total, \$20.01; expenditures: to Pierson for wages and leaflets, \$25; deficit, \$4.99.

G. A. Jennings, Recording Sec'y.  
Collinsville, Ill., Oct. 18.

## WESTCHESTER CO. COMMITTEE.

The regular meeting of the Westchester County Committee was held on Sunday, October 25, at 14 Getty square, Yonkers.

Comrade P. J. Troy presided. Roll call showed all members present except the treasurer, who was excused. Minutes of previous meeting were read and approved.

Communications.—From Comrade Zolot, of Peekskill, in regard to local agitation and asking for a speaker. The organizer reported having attended to the matter in the best way possible under the circumstances. Action of the organizer endorsed. From Comrade J. F. Van Tassel, of Valhalla, in regard to local agitation. Referred to Valhalla agitation committee.

Bills.—To Portchester committee for expenses of meeting at Portchester held October 24, \$3. Ordered paid.

For twenty-five Weekly People, 25 cents. Ordered paid.

Comrade J. Fischman reported having fifteen subscription lists for campaign fund ready. On motion the committee was instructed to distribute the lists among the party members and urge all to hustle for subscriptions.

The agitation committee reported good meetings held in New Rochelle and Portchester on October 24.

The auditing committee reported having audited the books of the previous county committee, and found them correct. The report showed total receipts from Sept. 1, 1901 to Sept. 21, 1903, \$175.35, and the total expenses for the same period \$150.01, leaving a balance on hand Sept. 21, 1903, \$25.34. The report was accepted.

On motion it was decided to hold a meeting in Tarrytown on Tuesday, Oct. 27, and in White Plains on Friday, Oct. 30.

On motion the organizer was instructed to get nine dollars' worth of due stamps.

The receipts and expenses were then announced after which the meeting adjourned.

Jacob Fischman,  
Rec. Sec.

## LOUNGE SALE DEFERRED.

Comrades of the S. T. & L. A. and S. L. P. interested in the disposal of the lounge which was to have been sold by the committee of D. A. 49, on Oct. 15, are hereby notified that the sale has been deferred to the date of the S. T. & L. A. fair and ball, which will be held in Everett's Hall, on New Year's Eve.

Sale Committee.  
By order D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A.

## S. L. P. SHOTS TELL

## "SOCIALIST PARTY" FILLED WITH DISMAY BY THEM.

Its Mouthpieces Resort to Brazen Mendacity in Attempting to Answer Them  
—Ananias a Paragon in Comparison to the Kangaroo Writers.

[Special to The People.]

Manchester, Va., Oct. 30.—That the shots fired from the batteries of the S. L. P. at the aggregation of political pretenders known as the "Socialist Party" are hitting the mark and creating dismay in our enemy's camp, there is abundant evidence on every hand. In order to defend this bogus organization against the wholesale charges of corruption, incompetency and instability that are everywhere being preferred and proven against it, its press is driven to making the most damaging admissions, as well as to resorting to desperate falsification. If there is any one thing in which the "Socialist Party" excels, that thing is brazen mendacity. In proof of this, read the following editorial, which appeared in the Social Democratic Herald (Milwaukee) in its issue of October 10:

"We discovered years ago that there was no sense in deaying or refuting the falsehoods of the New York People, for the S. L. P. leaders, as a rule, have the trick of being able to manufacture lies faster than an honest man could run them down. To refute all the falsehoods of the New York paper would be to turn our pages over to that sort of thing and to have no space left for preaching and teaching Socialism. In spite of this it may be wise to pay attention to a very nice, adroit, foxy little falsehood which appeared in a recent editorial under the title, 'Political Plumbing.' The gist of it is found in the following excerpt:

"Several months ago . . . its National Committee took a bath. It did so by a resolution. The resolution pronounced against fusion in the future and damned the practice. Seven months elapse, and now the National Secretary of the concern, with headquarters at Omaha, makes a report, in which this passage occurs: 'A motion to strike out the words: At the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is neither necessity nor excuse for such an alliance' from the anti-fusion resolutions adopted by the National Committee at St. Louis, was adopted by a vote of 17 to 5.' In other words, the decision not to fuse has been reconsidered and repealed and 'at the present stage of development of the Socialist movement of this country there is both necessity and excuse for fusion.' Which, again means that the concern has decided to resume business at the old stand, and is now laying its pipes to fuse with any old thing."

"The funny thing about that resolution against fusion is that its reference to the 'present state of development' meant simply that in the past Socialists had fused with other parties. And who committed such sins? Why the S. L. P. of which The People is now the mouthpiece! But the wording of the original resolution was somewhat ambiguous, as it might be taken to mean that a future stage of development might demand fusion, and so the motion to strike out that part was made and carried, and the resolution as now constituted says plainly and directly and unequivocally that the Socialist party is prohibited from fusing with any other party."

"But this lie of The People, which we here expose, is but of a piece with hundreds of others with which it fools its trusting followers. It is small wonder that as a party it is becoming microscopical and pusillanimous."

On reading the above, I immediately challenged Frederick Heath, editor of the Social Democratic Herald, to cite any instance or occasion where the S. L. P. resorted to fusion. The following editorial answer appears in the last issue of the Social Democratic Herald (October 24th):

"Alex B. McCulloch writes from Manchester, Md. (?) to ask when the S. L. P. fused with other parties, as charged in our editorial note in explanation of the form of the original resolution of the national committee on the subject of fusion. In the resolution it was stated that at the 'present stage of development of the movement' there was no excuse for fusion with other movements, the phrasing of this portion of the resolutions was by Comrade Hilquit, if we are not mistaken, who was a former S. L. P. and familiar with the past history of the party in this country. This portion was amended later because it might seem to some to mean that a future stage of development might make fusion possible—which, of course, is contrary to all Socialist principles. As to our correspondent's question we simply acquaint him with the facts that Comrade Hilquit undoubtedly had in mind: That the S. L. P. fused with the Henry Georgeites in New York State in 1880, and that prior to that the party had at various places round the country fused with the Greenbackers. It was during the fusion with the Georgeites that Daniel De Leon came into prominence in the party."

Did any one ever witness such a slide-shuffle as this? Ananias of old was a paragon of truthfulness when compared with the Heaths and Hilquits. It is significant that this same issue of

the Social Democratic Herald should print the following "Sanctum" note:

"Comrade Fred. Althen, of Two Rivers, Wis., in sending in a contribution to the moving fund, writes: 'I AM GLAD YOU ARE EXPOSING THE FAKIRS IN THE PARTY.'"

Doubly significant is the following circular letter from the Seattle (Wash.) Socialist, which reached me in the same mail that brought Heath's answer to my challenge:

"Dear Comrades:—  
"The integrity as well as the virility of the Socialist movement depend upon a district perception, on the part of its adherents, of the class struggle in society."

"Of late there has been a manifest tendency on the part of a few self-exalted people in our movement to ENTIRELY IGNORE, OR GREATLY DISCREDIT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE."

"To point out to all workers the existence of the class struggle and its mission, is the function of 'The Socialist.'"

"Those Socialists who appreciate the necessity for teaching the truth about this class struggle, are requested to come to the aid of our paper at this important juncture."

"IF THE FUSIONISTS, OPPORTUNISTS AND TRIMMERS ARE TO BE ROUTED, the present time must be seized for the purpose of spreading among the people a knowledge of the facts upon which our movement rests."

"Our office force may be able to collate these facts, and to point out the more obvious tendencies, but we must rely upon the outside comrades for assistance in bringing our efforts to the notice of toilers everywhere."

"To do their utmost we make the following liberal offer as an inducement to those who may be able to aid us, etc., etc., etc."

The following article I find in the Seattle Socialist of October 18. I wonder if Hilquit and his coterie of purists (!) comprising the National Committee of the Socialist Party still find it necessary to have their fusion resolution on events alleged to have occurred before the organization of the S. L. P.!

"CALIFORNIA QUESTION."

"Fusion or Straight Socialism?"

"To the Members of the Socialist Party:—A carefully worded circular has been issued by Cameron H. King, Jr., an extreme fusionist, against the removal of state headquarters to Oakland, he being in favor of retaining same in Los Angeles. L. E. Biddle and C. McMartin, who are members of the present S. E. C. were candidates of the Union Labor Party in Los Angeles last campaign, and it suits him to retain these people in office, so it is evident, that a vote to retain headquarters in Los Angeles is a vote for fusion."

"His shameful attack on Comrade Tuck is unwarranted as a change of Secretary is not proposed in Referendum."

"His statement regarding geographical centers is immaterial, as the question is Fusion or a Straight Socialist Party! And it is well known that Local Oakland at all times has been opposed to fusion."

"King succeeded through machine politics in establishing fusion with the U. L. P., but as he is no longer a member of Socialist Party S. F. fusion is dead, much to his regret. He is an officeholder in this city that now is under the control of the Schmitz fusion regime. Mr. King is not a member of this city (Socialist Party) as he resigned under serious charges. You can see from the above that a vote against Oakland is a vote for fusion."

"Fraternally yours for Straight Socialism."

"I Shenkan, Secretary."

"Gus Von Braun, Organizer."  
How any man possessing even a modicum of intelligence or honesty can regard the "Socialist Party" in any other light than as the most colossal humbug that ever entered the arena of American politics, I am at a loss to understand."

Fortunate for our working class is it that there is such an organization as the Socialist Labor Party, which can at all times be depended upon to hold high the banner of class-conscious labor, and to wage relentless warfare upon that rascally element who would fain drag the Socialist colors in the mire of disgrace and defeat.

Alex B. McCulloch.

## VANCOUVER ELECTION

(Continued from Page 1.)

S. L. P.—Griffiths, 285; lost deposit.

The S. P. vote was large, but very erratic, one candidate polling 1,333, while his running mate got 959. Our vote was small, but more solid, having more straight votes than any other candidate, the bogus Socialists not having as many straight votes as there are voters in their party, most of their votes being in with the Independent Labor Party.

In conclusion, the Section Vancouver of the Socialist Labor Party of Canada take this opportunity to thank all the chialist Labor Party of Canada that so generously contributed to our deposit fund. Although our deposit was lost, we were not alone in this, as one Liberal and one Socialist party candidate lost theirs. It is necessary, in order to save it, to poll half the votes polled by the lowest successful candidate; yet, nevertheless, the amount of good it has done from a propaganda standpoint is incalculable.

Press Com., Section Vancouver.

## BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

The record continued upward for the week ending Saturday, Oct. 31. Four hundred and twenty subscriptions were received for The Weekly People. This surpasses even the high-water mark of the previous week. The circulation is going up. If the comrades all over the country will turn to with a vim, it will not be difficult to build up a circulation of twenty-five thousand. It can be done.

There is no better way to prepare for the great campaign of 1904 than by getting workmen everywhere to read The Weekly People. Many comrades have devoted all their time to other work connected with the campaign during the last few weeks. After Election Day they will have more time to hustle for subscribers.

The Socialist campaign is never ended. There should be no letting up.

Sections, in order to facilitate work, should supply themselves with blocks of prepaid blanks, or, if they prefer, prepaid postal cards, which are to be used for yearly subscriptions only. The latter are sold in lots of twenty for \$5.

Sixty-one dollars and fifty cents' worth of blocks and cards were sold during the week, distributed as follows: Sections Troy, N. Y., Worcester, Mass., Salt Lake City, Utah, Newport News, Va., Chicago, Ill., New Bedford, Mass., Albany, N. Y., Lynn, Mass., Paterson, N. J., Richmond County, N. Y., one block each; A. C. McGinty, San Francisco, Cal., twenty prepaid postal cards; T. O'Shaughnessy, 34th A. D., New York City, two postals and two blanks.

The Salt Lake City comrades are working along the right lines. Comrade Allen, their agent, sends in eleven more Weeklies and one Monthly, and says they will try to buy one block every week. He writes that they canvas from house to house in the evenings; two comrades going together. They have two squads working now and expect to have a third one soon.

P. C. Tesson, of Pittsburg, sends in eight Weekly subs., and writes: "Comrade Singer and myself go out every Saturday night and canvas from house to house. I find it the most effective and satisfactory S. L. P. work I have yet undertaken."

August Clever secured five Weekly and four Daily subs. this week, and S. R. Rager four Weeklies. Both are active members in Allegheny County, Penn.

Comrade Schade, of Newport News, Va., sends in ten for the Weekly and writes that the comrades of that place will try to hold first place in the State. What have Sections Richmond and Roanoke got to say to this?

A comrade in Red Bluff, Cal., sends two yearly subs., and writes: "Although I am poor in pocket, I do all I can to help the cause." Every member and sympathizer can help the cause in the inexpensive same way by securing subscribers.

Richard Berdan, of Paterson, secured seven more subs. for The Weekly People, making a total of 264 since he began canvassing a few months ago. This is the work of one comrade.

The following is a list of those who have secured five or more subscribers: For the Weekly—Charles Pierson, Moberly, Mo., 20; Comrade, New Bedford, Mass., 16; B. Beinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 13; 34th A. D., City, 12; J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz., 11; G. L. Bryce, London, Ont., 10; Wm. Veal, Collinsville, Ill., 9; James Keeley, Springfield, Vt., 9; H. A. Schoepps, Union Hill, N. J., 8; J. J. Dolan, Lynn, Mass., 7; John Burkhardt, Indianapolis, Ind., 6; J. Johnson, Palsade Park, N. J., 6; A. Lingenfelter, Chicago, Ill., 6; A. G. Buehse, Detroit, Mich., 6; A. Schettel, Brooklyn, N. Y., 6; Frank Bohmbach, Boston, Mass., 5; Fred Sussman, Rockville, Conn., 5; J. F. Stevens, Boston, Mass., 5; A. F. Wittrock, Brooklyn, N. Y., 5; C. E. Hagar, St. Louis, Mo., 5; Otto Steinhoff, Columbus, O., 5.

For the Monthly—B. Reinstein, Buffalo, N. Y., 11; J. M. Francis, Du Quoin, Ill., 9; G. L. Bryce, London, Ont., 7; Moonelis, City, 6; C. M. Carlson, Tacoma, Wash., 5. Total, 67.

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